

**The Survival of Grammatical Gender in Lazamons's Brut,  
the Southern Legendary and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.**

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a descriptive study of grammatical gender in early Middle English. It is intended also as a contribution towards some later historical study of grammatical gender in English, which will be possible only after the ground has been systematically covered in a sufficient number of descriptive studies.

The texts on which this investigation is based are: Lazamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, MS Cotton Caligula A ix; The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 108; The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, MS Cotton Caligula A xi. These texts have the advantage of all being written in the South West Midland dialect; the Brut as it stands may be dated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the Legendary at the very end of the century, and the Chronicle in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Any disparities are thus bound to be mainly a result of the difference in date between the texts, without any serious additional complicating factor of major dialectal contrasts. Furthermore, because of their length, these texts provide a sufficient quantity of fairly homogeneous material for an examination of the features by which grammatical gender was distinguished in each of them. In fact, the length of the Brut is such (32341 lines) that it seemed unnecessary to examine the whole work to get an adequate

picture of its treatment of gender. Systematic analysis is confined, therefore, to volume one; the second and third volumes were consulted only when the first failed to yield enough information on a given problem.

No systematic attempt has been made to go beyond the descriptive study outlined above; such other matters as are touched upon are mentioned mainly to call attention to problems that seem to merit further investigation.

Similarly, no systematic examination is made of any other extant MSS of the texts under consideration than those mentioned above. But comparison is occasionally made with the MS Cotton Otho C xii (c.1300) of the Brut and the MS Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 4.26 (c.1400) of the Chronicle. For these two MSS, though of a later date than the respective MSS on which this study is based, often preserve archaic forms which are either not to be found in the earlier MSS, or else are dubiously attested.

The history of grammatical gender in English is that of a transitional process from an overt grammatical category to a covert one. In his paper outlining a general theory of grammatical categories, Benjamin Lee Whorf gives the following definitions of overt and covert categories:<sup>1</sup>

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1. Whorf, B. L. 'Grammatical Categories'. Language, vol. 21 (1945), p. 1 ff. The article is reprinted in Language, Thought, and Reality. Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, ed. John B. Carroll, 1956, p. 87 ff.

(i) An overt category is a category having a formal mark which is present (with only infrequent exceptions) in every sentence containing a member of the category. The mark need not be part of the same word to which category may be said to be attached in a paradigmatic sense; ... it may be a detached word or a certain patterning of the whole sentence.

(ii) A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs. The class membership of the word is not apparent until there is a question of using it or referring to it in one of these special types of sentence, and then we find that this word belongs to a class requiring some sort of distinctive treatment, which may even be the negative treatment of excluding that type of sentence.

In Indo-European languages grammatical gender is usually overtly marked. It can be expressed:

(i) by the form of the noun itself, as for instance in Latin, where a noun is, normally, masculine, feminine or neuter, according, for example, to whether it ends in -us, -a or -um respectively, to mention only one kind of distinction;

(ii) by the form of words that stand in apposition to the noun, such as adjectives and adjectivally used pronouns;

(iii) by the pronouns (personal, relative) used with reference to the noun in question, without being in grammatical apposition to it in the narrower sense implied in (ii), but merely 'referential'.

Though the Indo-European system of gender is continued in OE, i.e. nouns may be classed as masculine, feminine or neuter

on a purely grammatical basis, it has been modified as regards the actual methods or devices by which gender was expressed. For in OE, only feminine nouns may be said to have a formal mark distinguishing them as a class, the ending -e; in the majority of cases this ending distinguishes them from masculine and neuter nouns. Gender continues to be expressed by indicators which lie outside the noun itself, i.e. by the articles, adjectives, demonstratives and possessives, as well as by the 'referential' third singular personal pronoun; in addition one form of the relative pronoun is still gender-distinctive in OE. This is the type se (þe), seo (þe), þæt (þe) as distinct from the "neutral" þe alone.

In ME a number of phonological and morphological processes caused an eventual elimination of the distinguishing features of case and gender, first in the noun itself and then in appositional words. Any overt designations of gender in the noun become less and less significant; the ending -e, for example, ceases to be an unambiguous mark of feminine gender as soon as OE final unaccented vowels fell together and were written as -e. In early ME appositional words are already in the process of being gradually reduced to one form only. In some texts of this period a distinction is still made in the use of the relative pronoun according to whether the antecedent is animate or inanimate, or according to whether it is grammatically masculine or feminine on the one hand and neuter on the other, by the use



(more or less regularly) of he and hat respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Modern English gender represents a special covert class. Although English nouns bear no distinguishing mark of gender, nevertheless it is the gender of a noun that dictates the form of the personal pronoun used in reference to it.<sup>2</sup> In the overwhelming majority of cases, of course, grammatical gender coincides with natural gender.

Grammatical gender in the traditional sense disappeared - as is usually agreed - with the disappearance of gender-distinctive forms of the noun, adjectives or adjectivally used pronouns. An important part in the process was, undoubtedly, played by the appearance of natural gender. In fact, the two processes seem to have run simultaneously. For if the loss of grammatical gender were due only to changes of a formal nature, the personal pronoun could, in theory, have continued to mark the traditional gender distinctions as it did in OE. If, on the other hand, it were primarily due to the appearance of natural gender, as Classen<sup>3</sup> seems to imply, it does not follow that case, and consequently many of the distinctive marks of the old gender system, should

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1. See McIntosh, A. 'The Relative Pronouns he and hat in Early Middle English'. English and Germanic Studies, vol. 1 (1947), pp. 73-87.

2. Cf. B.L. Whorf, Language, Thought, and Reality, pp. 68-69.

3. Classen, E. 'On the Origin of Natural Gender in Middle English'. Modern Language Review, vol. xix (1919), pp. 97-102.

have been abandoned.<sup>1</sup> It is at least conceivable that, instead of the old system of gender, a new one could have developed in which nouns denoting males would have acquired the concomitant signs formerly appropriate to grammatically masculine nouns, and so with nouns denoting females and things.

What we find in Middle English is a situation which is the result of a combination of inherited grammatical processes and tendencies, and new psychological attitudes. After the disappearance of overt signs of grammatical gender in the noun and the forms standing in apposition to it, it seems obvious that the personal pronouns would be unlikely to continue for long to mark it by themselves. They could only be expected to do so for a limited time after gender had ceased to be marked (and thus held firmly in memory) in other ways. We may say this with more confidence because it so happens that the personal pronouns had begun already in OE to perform a new function (beside the old one) of marking natural gender; this new (and at first rare) function gradually prevailed over the old one of marking grammatical gender in the course of Middle English. Thus occurrences of hit with reference to nouns denoting things (whatever their grammatical gender) became more and more frequent in that period.

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1. Cf. Moore, S. 'Grammatical and Natural Gender in Middle English'. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. 36 (1921), pp. 79-103.

With regard to the designation of grammatical gender the Brut occupies a position still not very far from that of OE, but it shows symptoms of the disintegration of case and gender systems; a further stage of this disintegration can be seen in the Legendary and the Chronicle. The difference between the two latter texts is not considerable; the Chronicle, being slightly later, has a rather smaller number of nouns of which the gender is still distinguishable.

In this investigation it has been felt that a detailed analysis of appositional and referential criteria for gender is necessary in order to examine their value as criteria in each of the works examined. The first part of this study is therefore devoted to an examination of the forms relevant to these criteria (third singular personal pronoun;<sup>1</sup> definite and indefinite article; demonstrative and possessive pronouns; adjectives) as they appear in the four cases of the singular; their plural forms are not gender-distinctive either in OE or ME. This study reveals in an incidental fashion the degree to which the case system as such has been preserved, both in non-prepositional and prepositional use.

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1. In these texts there is no tendency to make any distinctions in the use of the relative pronoun; the Brut, however, differs from the others in having, mainly, the old form þe or a form þa and less frequently the form þat (variously spelt), which is the only form in both the Legendary and the Chronicle.

The second part is devoted to an examination of OF, OF and ON nouns, with a view to comparing the treatment of gender in nouns of native and of foreign origin. Although in the first part of this work forms are examined regardless of whether they accompany or refer to nouns denoting animates or inanimates, in this second part and in the Glossary only such nouns are considered as may be said truly to possess grammatical gender, i.e. only nouns whose grammatical gender was not in accordance with their natural gender. These nouns are treated in separate sections according to whether they retain their original gender, show a change in gender or loss of gender. Although the thesis is mainly concerned with the survival of grammatical gender, cases in which loss of gender is evidenced are treated here as part of one and the same process whereby grammatical gender as an overt category was brought to an end.

The third part consists of a Glossary of nouns with relevant citations illustrating their gender or genders in each of the texts examined. Examples of hit with reference to historically masculine or feminine nouns are also included to show the way this newer fashion of marking natural gender gradually asserted itself.

Two appendices are attached to the work; Appendix I contains paradigms of gender-distinctive forms in each text; Appendix II consists of lists of all nouns that have been dealt with in the main body of the thesis.



Finally, it should be pointed out that although the problem of grammatical gender in these works has been the subject of earlier investigations, the results of the present work are in no way derived therefrom. A re-examination of the subjects of these studies was felt necessary because of the inadequate treatment given in them to the problem of grammatical gender in general and in these texts in particular.

Of those who have investigated the problem of grammatical gender in these works, Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> alone strictly limits his study to one work only, viz. Lazamon's Brut; Körner<sup>2</sup> examines the Brut, part of the Legendary (St. Michael) and the Chronicle, along with a number of other South-West Midland works dating from the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth; Ausbüttel<sup>3</sup> considers the Chronicle together with a great number of other ME works. All the above works are short and none is by any means exhaustive.

Only Hoffmann attempts to examine the devices by which grammatical gender was distinguished in Lazamon, and his approach is unsystematic; he is chiefly concerned with the appositional kind of criteria for gender, and the personal pronoun,

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1. Hoffmann, P. 'Das Grammatische Genus in Lazamon's Brut'. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xxxvi (1909), pp. 1-69.
  2. Körner, K. 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtswechsels der Englischen Substantiva'. Diss. Greifswald, 1888, pp. 1-49.
  3. Ausbüttel, E. 'Das Persönliche Geschlecht Unpersönlicher Substantiva'. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xix (1904), pp. 1-135.

for example, is only mentioned in passing. Körner takes into account the forms he, heo, hit and their inflections, but makes no mention of the asgf. as (L) and is (C). Ausbüttel bases his investigation of gender only on the evidence of the personal pronouns he and heo and their forms in the oblique cases, disregarding the asgf. is, as well as the evidence of the asgm. ben of the definite article.

None of these writers achieves an exhaustive catalogue of nouns still possessing gender, either because this is not attempted, as seems to be the case with Hoffmann, or because full use has not been made of the evidence available, as in the case of Hoffmann, Körner and Ausbüttel. Their works do not, therefore, give satisfactory information about the real position of grammatical gender in the texts examined.

A certain amount of repetition, and the arriving at some conclusions already reached by others, is inevitable in a study of this kind. Where I agree with statements in the above mentioned works, I normally do not make any reference to them; wherever a new interpretation seems necessary, differences of opinion are either discussed in the body of the thesis or pointed out in the footnotes.

Part I

Criteria for gender

Layamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, MS Cotton Caligula A ix.

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

A distinction between the three grammatical genders is made only in the third person singular, and therefore only the personal pronouns in this category will be treated here.

Nominative singular masculine.

The prevalent form is he as in 1/3.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, a number of quite evidently masculine nouns, such as 'king', 'man' or personal names referred to by heo. The following have been noted: 11/1. 40/11. 44/10. 45/11. 64/12, 13. 111/3, 7. 129/22. 178/16. 181/22. 183/18. 188/19. 194/19. 271/20, 21. 322/6. 328/21. 383/12 and 400/9. Heo, normally feminine, cannot therefore be regarded as an absolutely certain indication of the feminine gender of common nouns. In addition to these two forms e is used in: æruu<sup>1</sup> ewas on herten 147/3. Diehn<sup>2</sup> cites a passage (11.104/20) where the pronoun appears as he. Madden points out that in 6/22 the pronoun seems to be incorporated in the adjective:

þe king wes ihoten Latin  
þe on þan londe wes.  
hey wes and riche  
& he wes redesful.

In 284/21 þe occurs instead of he.

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1. References are to page and verse.

2. Read ærm.

3. Diehn, O. 'Die Pronomina im Frühmittelenglischen'. Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie, Band 1, Heidelberg (1901), p. 49.

Nominative singular feminine.

The regular form is heo as in 7/11. Once it appears as ho: ho iber Belin 212/21. In two places it has the form he, which is normally to be regarded as masculine: 107/2 (used of Guendoleine) and 86/9 (used of 'burh', which is otherwise usually referred to by the feminine forms of the personal pronoun; cf. hire 86/11).<sup>1</sup> The occasional use of heo for the nsfm. has therefore its counterpart here. The scribal confusion of e and eo may be due to the falling together of OE ē and ēo in some areas.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The regular form for both cases is hit as in 13/23. Only once is he used instead of a general hit in the nominative: 350/4. In the accusative, again instead of a general hit, heo occurs in 87/4 and hine in 152/17.<sup>2</sup>

Neuter nouns denoting persons, such as 'child', are referred to by he if the natural gender prevails.<sup>3</sup> This form is used in reference to the noun 'child' denoting a grown up person in: 11/23. 12/3. In 14/1, 2 it refers in fact to Brut,

1. Madden, vol. 111, p. 466, suggests since sē is feminine, we must read heo for he in: and þa sē he wraðede 195/11 or else substitute iwraðede for he wraðede. But he here refers to wind from the preceding line rather than to sē.

2. Cf. Madden, vol. 111, p. 462. In 34/17 an acc. hit is misspelt hic.

3. The noun 'child', however, seems to have been used only to denote a male child. There are no occurrences of heo in reference to it.



who was fifteen at the time, though the antecedent is the word 'child'. In 297/1 it seems to be the idea of 'king' that prevailed over that of 'child':

Urrian hæhte þat childe  
þe iward þisse leodes king.  
a 3er he leouede.

In 66/11, 15 he refers to bearn, which represents OE beorn, m. 'man, warrior', and not OE bearn, n. 'child'.<sup>1</sup> It is used in the same way in 326/21, 23 and 327/1.

Nouns of neuter grammatical gender and feminine natural gender, such as 'maiden' and 'wif', are always referred to by the feminine form of the personal pronoun.

#### Accusative singular masculine.

The most frequently used form in *Lazamon A* is still hine as in 4/4. Occasionally different spellings are also to be found, such as: hiñ : 287/24, hin : 31/21. hie : 293/14, hene : 180/13, hune : 285/15, inne : 323/19, (hat)ine : 151/9.

Besides these old accusative forms, original dative forms, as Diehn<sup>2</sup> observes, were also used as the accusative. This he illustrates with the line: to þare sœ him droh 5/13. There are two other examples of the same kind: & droh him rites norð 112/20 and: scilde him mid his scelde 359/24 - in

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1. cf. the definite article below, p. 22, footnote 1.

2. op. cit. p. 49.

which the subject is at the same time the object of the sentence.

With the exception of 'Dunwale him bi-pohte' in 178/10, the verb 'bi-penchen' is in A followed by the accusative, as in: *pe king hine bi-poute* 44/18.<sup>1</sup> The above example in A seems to have escaped the notice of Funke who says: 'bi-penchen ... wird in A und B mit dem Akkusativ konstruiert ... In v. 30575 scheint B die Konstruktion zu vermischen: A ofte he hine biðohte; B Brian him biþohte ... während die bei Lazamon A so beliebte Phrase: he hine biþohte, what he don mihte - doch immer den Akkusativ hat'.<sup>2</sup> It would be difficult to say whether or not this is a case of the mixing of two constructions, or merely of two forms; if the latter is the case, it provides another example of the syncretism of the dative and the accusative.

That such syncretism is taking place in Lazamon is shown by the following examples, where a dative form is used as the direct object with the verbs governing the accusative:

a) & him grimliche heaf (Geomagog) 81/14<sup>3</sup>

b) þat swiken he him wolde (broðer) 168/12

1. Cf. *hæfd hine seolfne bi-poht* 327/13.

2. Funke, O. Kasussyntax bei Orrm und Layamon, Diss. München, 1907, p. 38.

3. Madden, commenting on the form him in 81/14 says that it is apparently an error for the accusative hine, adding that in this text him is only used for the dative singular. Later, however, he admits that the form him, as in 288/18, can sometimes be used in the early text for the accusative hine. See vol. 111, pp. 454 and 473.



- c) þat if he him wolde leoðien (Gudlac) 203/19  
of laðe his benden
- d) þe oðer wolde him habben dæd (Euelin) 348/17
- e) & nom erendrake godne  
& sende him to Oðres 354/14
- f) & smhtnien him wið Cesare (king) 377/3
- g) þe while þe ich mai him freoien (Cassibelaune)  
379/19.

In: he his kinehelm on-feng/ and sette hi on his  
broðer hæfd 288/18, hi probably stands for him, though it  
could possibly stand for hin.

Accusative singular feminine.

The asgf. of the third person is heo as in 7/14,  
though there are occasional occurrences of different spellings,  
such as: hoe : 3/6, ha : 135/10. In 187/5 it appears as þe:  
' he þe 3eueð þe forð riht', where the B text reads: he wole  
þe hire 3ifue forþ riht.

Of originally dative forms used as accusative, I have  
noted only one example: and nennede hire after him seoluen  
(burh) 303/4.<sup>1</sup> This is followed in the next line by: & hehten  
heo Kær-Lud.

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1. Cf. Funke, op. cit. p. 30: 'Akkusativ in A ist heo'. Yet  
on p. 22 he wrongly cites: 'men heold hire for hehne god'.  
The correct reading of A is: men heold heo for hehne godd  
(49/15).

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Both for masculine and neuter, the regular form is his as in 1/12. It is spelt hiis in 128/7, 132/21 and 137/9; is in 130/6; hes in 125/15; hus in 136/13. In all these cases it is used in reference to masculine nouns.

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Apart from the common hire (e.g. 54/12), other forms are to be found in the gsgf., such as: hira in 146/5, ire : 216/15, hiire : 128/3, heore : 126/5, 404/24, hir : 10/24, her : 418/15, hires : 216/16; all with the exception of 404/24 (Rome), are used of nouns denoting female persons. - As the dsgrf. appears the common hire as in 170/19, heore : 170/17, here : 170/18 and hir' : 304/13.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

In most cases the form is him as in 1/8. Used with reference to masculine nouns, it is occasionally spelt as hī, e.g. 7/7 and once as hā in 57/21. Diehn<sup>1</sup> lists also hin in ii.50/1, as well as im, which is in fact part of the reflexive pronoun used after a preposition: vorð mid im seoluen 415/4. The accusative form hine is once used with the verb sāiden (63/4),

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1. op. cit. p. 49.

which in *Lazamon* regularly governs the dative of person.

Another<sup>1</sup> accusative form occurs in:

and þus ælkene forme gult  
þe king suf hine for-3ef 182/14<sup>2</sup>

where - according to the OE usage - the dative of person would also have been required.<sup>3</sup> Funke,<sup>4</sup> however, takes this to represent a double accusative.<sup>5</sup>

### THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

#### Nominative singular masculine.

The nsgm. has the following forms, given in order of frequency: þe : 6/20 etc. (423 times); þa : 75/1 etc. (14); þe : 262/17. 349/18. 382/10; þon : 234/2. 380/17.<sup>6</sup>

Diehn does not list the two examples of þon in the nsgm.:

of alle þeo londe  
þon keiser hæfde an honde 234/2

- 
1. Diehn makes no reference to either of these two examples.
  2. Read sulf.
  3. Cf. *Hie forgeafon þæm Cāsere þa fæhþe þe his mæg hæfde wið hie ær geworht, ond he forgeaf him þ unryht and þ facn þ hi him don þohton ...* Ors. 6, 4. S. 258, 27-29 (cited by Bosworth-Toller), s. v. forziefan.
  4. op. cit. p. 40.
  5. For a general discussion on the personal pronouns as criteria for gender, see p. 32 ff.
  6. For occurrences of þat with historically masculine nouns in the nominative singular, see p. 23.

where the B text has: *pat pan kayser stod an honde*. The A scribe must here have changed the verb of the original, but retained the dative form of the article.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing in the B text corresponding to the second example:

*for þa hefde swiðe muchel care  
Juli' þon kēisere 380/17.*

The explanation may be similar as above, or perhaps *þon* is merely a scribal error.<sup>2</sup>

What seems to be a third example of the same kind, is in fact quite different and conforms to the rule:

*þa longede swiðe  
Luces þon kinge 431/23.*

for the verb *longen* governs the dative in *Lazamon*.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. Madden, vol. iii, p. 468; also Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 51.

2. It is doubtful whether we can take these two cases of *þon* in the nsgm. as mistakes for *þa*, as suggested by Hoffmann (*op. cit.* p. 51), in view of the disagreement in the vowel. This disagreement, however, is not manifest in the example occurring in 234/2 as cited by him (*pan kaiser hæfde an honde*) and he makes no mention of the other.

3. Cf. Funke, *op. cit.* p. 11: 'Das verb *longen*, AF. *langian* fordert im Altenglischen Akkusativreaktion. *Layamon* konstruiert mit Dativ: *þa longede swiðe Lucas þon kinge 10125* (B. *þan*); *me longed 18721*; *þa ifunde Mærlin under ane treo standen and sære him gon longen A, B.* (*him* kann in A. nur Dativ sein). I am more inclined to accept this as a dative when dealing with a case of the definite article than of the personal pronoun, as the personal pronoun shows the syncretism to a greater extent than the definite article does. For incorrectness of the statement about the form *him*, see pp. 14-15.



Nominative singular feminine.

The order of frequency of the forms of the definite article in the nsgr. suggests that there is still some distinction between the masculine and feminine forms. For the most frequently used form is pa as in 6/17 etc. (56 times); then comes pe as in 4/11 etc. (26);<sup>1</sup> peo occurs six times: 12/13, 21. 13/2. 160/17.<sup>2</sup> 171/7 and 268/21; pe is recorded in 418/19.<sup>3</sup>

Nominative singular neuter.

The prevalent form is pat as in 13/21 etc.; then comes p<sup>4</sup> as in 8/4 etc.; pet : 76/3 etc.; pst appears only once: 335/5 and so does p<sup>t</sup> : 7/20; pe and pa also occur, six and four times respectively.<sup>5</sup>

In order to test the validity of the criteria for establishing the existence of grammatical gender, it is essential

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1. Madden evidently regarded these occurrences of pe with feminine nouns as irregularities, since - commenting on pe burh in 86/8 - he says: 'Here and in several other instances pe is used before a feminine noun'; see vol. iii, p. 455.
  2. Here peo by the first hand was substituted for pe by the second (Madden). On the form peo see Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 9. It should be pointed out, however, that although this form of the definite article is found only with feminine nouns, peo is also one of the forms in which the relative pronoun appears, irrespective of gender of the antecedent; cf. 12/4 (n.), 127/11 (m.).
  3. For pat form of the definite article in the nominative singular with historically feminine nouns see p. 24.
  4. With a stroke through the upper part of the letter.
  5. Diehn does not list the abbreviated forms, nor pa. Hoffmann omits p<sup>t</sup>.

to examine and be fully aware of the cases where the system seems to be breaking down. As can be seen from the above, there are a few instances where the non-neuter form of the definite article is used with a neuter noun.<sup>1</sup>

Diehn<sup>2</sup> illustrates the use of pe in such circumstances by the following line: pe child was iboren isund (B: pe) 13/18. Apart from this, pe or pa appear also with other nouns which are firmly established as neuter on other criteria. Such are:

deor: pat pe deor feol abac (B hit) 277/4. The use of pe here may be due, as Hoffmann suggests,<sup>3</sup> to the plural being often taken by scribes as singular. Or, it may be due to a triumph of the feeling for animate gender. It could also be that the scribe tried occasionally to avoid the repetition of the word pat in the same line. Cf. sweord below.

faht: pe faht was unimete (B falle) 247/3. The scribe A probably changed the original noun but kept the form of the definite article belonging to it, as falle (OE fiell, n.) in B suggests.

folk: pe folk of Burguine (B pat) 236/7 ferde agan mid Brenne. The alliteration suggests that there has been no change in the original noun folk. There

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1; For a possible evidence of a similar tendency in the asgn. see p. 26.

2. op. cit. p. 68.

3. op. cit. p. 21.

seem to be two possible explanations for this.

First, it might have been felt as a plural by the scribe, though in that case we should expect the verb to be ferden. Numerous examples of þat folk followed by the plural pronoun would also seem to be against this supposition. Alternatively, the non-neuter form of the definite article may be due to the noun being felt as having animate gender.

gersume: muchel wes þa gersume 112/3, but: & alle heo nom þat garsume 194/19. The noun had both masculine and neuter gender in OE, both of which may therefore be preserved in these examples.

mæiden: þus seide þe mæiden Cordoille (B þat; 130/2. Apart from the natural gender, the name itself may well account for the form of the definite article here.

sweord: þat þa sweord wes i-cleoped (B hit; 326/11 inne Rome Crocia Mors. A comparison with: þæt sweord in deof 277/16 in A and : þat þe swerd in held in B, suggests the possibility of occasional avoidance on the part of the scribe of the repetition of þat in the same line. Cf. deor above.

tidende: This word appears several times with non-neuter forms of the definite article. It is often difficult, however, to decide whether the noun is in the singular or plural, unless it is used with the verb to be. Other verbs do not show clearly in which number

the noun stands. Cf.:

- a) þa tiðind com to Corineum 59/1
- b) þa come þe tiðende 159/1
- c) Seoððe him comen þæ tiðinde 391/17

Once, however, it is preceded by þat:

þa þuhte Eleuðerie  
þat tiðende swiðe murie (B þeos) 432/21

wriht: meaning 'letter', is otherwise always treated as neuter. It is used with þe only once: al swa þe wriht þe seið 21/8, where B reads: al so þat writ speket. þe in A is apparently a mistake, or is perhaps due to subconscious association with wriht 'smith', as spelling might suggest.<sup>1</sup>

This use of the non-neuter forms of the definite article with neuter nouns is paralleled with the use of the neuter form þat with historically masculine and feminine nouns in the nominative singular.<sup>2</sup> It is very difficult to decide whether in such cases we are dealing with a genuine change in gender, complete or partial, or simply with mistakes. There seems to be a third possibility, that of þat being not a form

1. To these, examples with the noun bearn seem to belong. But be(a)rn in *Lazamon* represents both OE beorn, m. 'man, warrior' and OE bearn, n. 'child'. The distinction between these two forms is strictly maintained in this text by a distinction in gender. When it means 'man', the noun is preceded by non-neuter þa or þe; e.g. 66/12 and 326/17. When it means 'child', the accompanying definite article has the neuter form þat, as in 13/21. The same distinction is made in the use of the personal pronoun; see p. 13.

2. The same thing happens in the accusative singular; see pp. 26 ff.



of the definite article at all, but a form with demonstrative force, used irrespective of gender of the noun it accompanies.<sup>1</sup>

Examples are:

A. OE masculines:

**hired:** Forð i-wende þat hired 262/16 and: þa answare þ hired 330/20. If there had been a change in gender, it might have been brought about by association with the neuter noun folc.

**seil-clæð:** sulken wes þat sel-clæð 194/7. The use of þat in this case may be due to the neuter gender of OE segl, n. m., whereas a masculine gender corresponding to that of OE clāþ would be expected. Cf. vifmon below.

**tur:** and of castles ner þer na þing/ bute þat tur þe makede Beilin king 302/8. This noun was masculine in OE, but in *Lazamon* is mostly feminine under the influence of OF tur, f.

**vifmon:** Quer soh seiden þat ȝunȝe vifmon 147]16. The reason here may be similar to that suggested for seil-clæð above, or þat is perhaps due to an association with the neuter maiden. The noun is usually feminine in *Lazamon*.

**wæl:** al þat wæl & al þat gold 346/12. þat is used here probably under the influence of þat gold in the same line.

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1. See also the section on changes in gender, pp. 182-83.

B. OE feminines:

ferde: 3earve was þat ferde 212/14.<sup>1</sup> If this is a case of a change in gender, it may have been caused by an association with the neuter noun folc.

The noun is still normally treated as feminine.

forward: Al þat forward wes ilest 47/2. Other evidence shows that this may be a genuine change in gender.<sup>2</sup>

niht: A þet þ þustere niht 418/6. This appears to be no more than a scribal error.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: þene : 9/11 etc. (81 times); þane : 196/6 etc. (10); þeone<sup>3</sup> : 205/5. 208/12. 283/3; þæne : 379/3. 425/6; þ'ne : 134/5;<sup>4</sup> þonne : 188/19; þænne : 196/4; þenne : 242/3;

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1. Cf. 3eond þat ferde 75/14.

2. See p. 181.

3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 10, takes this form, of which he gives only the example in 208/12, to be a mistake. He also alleges that the most frequent form is þane, then þene, þæne, þ'ne and þæe. My own analysis of the various forms of the asgm. does not confirm this, as can be seen above. (I have not been able to trace þæe; neither does Madden give it with other asgm. forms of the definite article in his Glossary).

4. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, also cites þone in: bi þone toppe he hine nom 30/1. Other evidence, however, shows that the preposition bi governed the dative, not the accusative (see p. 74). His alleged example of þane as the asgm. in 19/3 (wide 3end þane londe) is wrong, since it is used with a noun which all other evidence shows clearly to be neuter.

þen : 7/3. 48/3; þe<sup>1</sup> : 38/21. 235/11? 338/11.<sup>2</sup>

Except for: & grete we þen alde king 7/3 and : þen oðer dai heo comen liðen 48/3 (in both of which the omission of the final -e in the article may be due to the following vowel),<sup>3</sup> no other occurrences of an asgm. form without -e seem to appear in volume one. Hoffmann<sup>4</sup> gives some more examples from volumes two and three; one of these, however, is erroneous since it is a dative after the preposition to: þer to wooren ilaðede/ to hæzen þan king ii. 414/18.

#### Accusative singular feminine

Forms: þa : 54/23 etc. (54 times); þe : 14/21 etc. (25); þen : 196/19, 21. 303/1. 399/18; þea : 86/1; þeo : 364/5.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Both Diehn and Hoffmann have missed the example of þe as the asgm. in 38/21 (zeue us þe king & al his gold). The example in 338/11 (& awalde we þe keisere) is noted by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 21, and he gives further examples from vols. ii and iii. The example in 235/11 (þa hæueden heo þa mere me) is doubtful, since this noun might have undergone a change in gender.
  2. For occurrences of þat with historically masculine nouns in the accusative singular, see p. 27.
  3. Cf. þane þridde dai hi come 48/3 in B.
  4. op. cit. p. 12.
  5. Madden suspects that to is a mistake for þa in line 197/21 which reads: And þe cnihtes heom lædden/ Godlac and to quene. Diehn, op. cit. p. 68, lists this form as asgf. - In 281/8 a form þan occurs with the originally feminine noun leode; this, however, seems to be a mistake for þa (cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54.), unless the verb fondian governs the dative here; cf. p. 61, footnote 1. - For occurrences of þat with historically feminine nouns in the accusative, see p. 26 ff.

Accusative singular neuter.

Forms: pat : 28/6; p : 6/17; pet : 7/26; peð : 161/8;  
pa : 159/10. 332/21. 367/10; pe : 312/4. 316/1; pea : 128/8.<sup>1</sup>

There is no question of a possible change in gender in the first two examples of pa and the second of pe, as they are used with lond (159/10), lond-gauel (332/21), and tale (316/1). All these nouns are well established as neuter in *Lazamon* on other evidence. Of pa reaf in 367/10 and pe erende in 312/4 it is difficult to say much, as these are my only references of these two nouns; one can merely note that reaf and erende were neuter in OE and that all these examples suggest a spread of negm. and n/asgf. forms into the asgn.<sup>2</sup>

There are, however, some otherwise masculine or feminine nouns which appear with pat in the accusative singular and which require special discussion. They are:

anlicnes: heo wurdoden þ anlicnes 50/1. The noun was feminine in OE, but on this and other evidence appears to have become neuter.<sup>3</sup>

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1. We should perhaps add the following to the examples of pa: &noþ̄ pa hælwen dale 302/19. It is impossible, however, to decide whether the noun dale as it appears here originates from the OE dæl, m. or the OE gedæl, n. Because of the nunation in *Lazamon*, the form of the adjective cannot be taken as evidence for masculine gender. The same, of course, applies to the example in 128/8 (pea bridde del of mine londe), although the absence of -n in the adjective might suggest the neuter as original gender of the noun.

2. For a possible similar tendency in the negn. see p. 21 ff.

3. See p. 181.



clærscipe: þa setten heo biscopas  
 þan folken to dihten.  
 þer ouer ærchebiscepes  
 þat clærscipe to rihten 435/7 (B þane)

Other evidence shows that OE masculine nouns in  
 -scipe are treated as feminine in *Lazamon A*. This  
 is the only case where such a noun is preceded by  
þat.

hauen: þat hauen of Douere he hauede inumen 316/19. The  
 noun is otherwise feminine; cf. and þa hauene at  
 Doure hafde inomen 365/12; Brutus 1 þare hauene  
 læi 60/5.

Regau: Scal habbe Regau þ scone 131/18. This, of course,  
 may just be a mistake,<sup>1</sup> but no doubt due to asso-  
 ciation with the neuter mæiden.

winter: al þ winter heo wuneden here 382/17 (B þon); al  
 þat winter wuneden here 421/21 (B þat). The old  
 masculine gender is kept in: Arður wes 1 Cornwale/  
 al þene winter þere 111.510/23.

worlde: and halde þat worlde in his hond 307/18; the noun  
 is normally treated as feminine in *Lazamon*; cf.  
 at þere worlde ende 313/13, unless the genitive  
 in -e in this line and in: for þan weorlde scome  
 20/3 is the sign of a change in gender.

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1. Cf. P. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54.

These examples cannot lightly be dismissed as mere scribal mistakes for pa,<sup>1</sup> especially since additions to the original form would have been contrary to the tendency to reduce the use of flexions. Besides, such an explanation would apply only to feminine nouns, pa being an asgf. form, and leave the use of pat instead of pane with masculine nouns unexplained. A certain amount of confusion of gender must be allowed for; this may be in evidence in the case of clærscipe, where the original (as we infer from the B reading) probably had the masculine pane. For those nouns which were feminine in OE, despite the impossibility of being sure whether they have demonstrative force, I am inclined to take these pat forms as being in some way connected with the asgf. form pas of the demonstrative pronoun.<sup>2</sup>

Rather than being scribal errors for pas, they may well be early examples of the use of the form pat of the demonstrative pronoun for all genders.<sup>3</sup> Further evidence for

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1. P. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 54-55.

2. Cf. and halde pat worlde in his hond/ Ah he ne mihte hit don/ al pas worlde under fote 307/18-20 (Madden:under-fon?).

3. Two clear cases where the historically singular form of the neuter is used in a plural sense might be held to confirm the possibility of pat being extended from its original nsqn. function to other genders and numbers. They are: pat dælden pat broðeran 161/5 al þis drihtliche lond; whet pat scipen weoren 264/7. T. Heltveit in his Studies in English Demonstrative Pronouns (Oslo, 1953, p. 80) draws attention to "some stray instances of that before plural nouns" in the texts he had examined. For the use of that for those see also OED.

this is found in the use of the definite article after prepositions.<sup>1</sup>

A different problem is presented by:

Ful soue 3ere  
mid þon kinge he wunede þere.  
þat king he hauede iquemed  
& al swa þere quene. 169/8-11

Madden<sup>2</sup> and Hoffmann<sup>3</sup> take this as another example of þat used instead of þan, since they claim that iquemed governed the dative. Though it is clear that the dative is used in line 11, cases of the passive construction of the same verb show that it could govern the accusative as well. This is noted by Funke<sup>4</sup> who gives the following examples:

- a) for he nes þeo noht iquemed A 130/5<sup>5</sup>
- b) þ we beon iquemed 40/17.<sup>6</sup>

Discussing the example in line 169/10, however, he reads:

þat (Relat.) king he hauede iquemed.<sup>7</sup>

I do not see how this can be a relative, in view of the sense of the whole passage. It may well be another example

1. See p. 97.

2. vol. iii, p. 463.

3. op. cit. p. 54.

4. op. cit. p. 33.

5. Wrongly cited as He nes noht iquemed 3063 A.B. The correct reading of A is given above; the B text reads: .or he nas noht iow... The line is also wrongly cited as 3063 instead of 3062.

6. The line is wrongly given as 940 instead of 938.

7. O. Funke, op. cit. p. 33.

of a possible demonstrative, since pat could then take up the sense of þon kinge, i.e. that king (just mentioned).<sup>1</sup>

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

The most common form for both genders is þes; e.g. 15/8 (m.), 10/3 (n.); þeos : 189/1. 206/15, 18. 346/2, 13. 422/4 with masculines; 136/3. 207/22. 323/3 with neuters; þis : 41/15. 285/7. 304/15 (m.); 315/15 (n.). In addition: þes : 35/4. 259/11. 397/1 and þas : 31/6. 34/14 are recorded; all these cases, as it happens, are masculine. For the neuter, þus occurs in 53/16. Diehn<sup>2</sup> lists this as a genitive, though Madden<sup>3</sup> took it to be a mistake for þas. The line reads:

& scal þin mere kun  
wælden þus londes (B: wel þat lond witte).

The OE wealdan could, according to Delbrück,<sup>4</sup> be followed by the accusative, dative or genitive; according to Funke,<sup>5</sup> it

1. It is possible that pat may have here the quite different meaning of so that or until. It is used in *Lazamon* in both these senses; e.g. & resden to þan castle/ pat com to þere nihte/ pat lengre heo ne mihte 71/20-22. In that case, the definite article before the noun 'king' must have been lost, and we should read: pat þen king ...

2. op. cit. p. 65.

3. See vol. iii, p. 450. He says that it does not appear, from numerous other passages, that wældan governs the genitive in *Lazamon* as in OE. In support of this he cites the same phrase occurring in v. 32233, where - according to him - londes is accusative plural: wælden þas londes (iii.297/1).

4. Delbrück, B. Syncretismus, Ein Beitrag zur Germanischen Kasuslehre. Strassburg, 1907, p. 112.

5. op. cit. p. 14.



could also be used with a preposition. The reading of the B text suggests that the phrase pus londes is in the singular here, and therefore genitive, rather than the accusative plural.

#### Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The most frequently used form for the gsgf. and dsgr. is pere as in 15/7 etc.; pere : 7/10 etc.; pere occurs twice in the genitive : 79/10 and 309/6; pera is recorded only once : 71/17. Diehn<sup>1</sup> also lists per in 104/20, which is used after a preposition (of pon kinge & of per quene).<sup>2</sup>

#### Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The common form of the dative singular for both genders is pan : 15/24 etc; pon : 207/5 etc.; pen : 69/15 etc.; for the masculine we also have pmn : 395/9. 408/24; peon : 373/10; pā : 340/19;<sup>3</sup> pō : 312/22; pone : 115/8; pene : 66/22;<sup>4</sup> for the neuter pē occurs in 166/15.

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1. op. cit. p. 67.

2. The uninflected forms are dealt with in the section on prepositions; see pp. 95-96.

3. The use of pā in: he droh in ane halue/ & toc pā herberwe 340/19 (B: tock to hereboreze) presents a difficulty, for the word 'herberwe' does not occur in any other context in which gender can be established with certainty. The noun was feminine in OE; the reading pā is a mistake for pa, provided the verb here is a transitive one, and requires the accusative. If it is a dative, a change in gender is to be supposed.

4. See Madden, vol. 111, p. 452.

Diehn does not include in his list either of the examples of an apparently accusative form used where we should expect a dative. Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> lists both:

a) leouest þone kinge (B: leuest þan kinge) 115/8

b) wa wrðe auer þene smið (B: wo worþe þe smiþ) 66/22.

He also lists: wa wes þone unstronge 172/14 and: þene kaiserere he eode neor 379/1. Whether the former should be included or not, depends on whether it is singular or plural. The latter is dealt with in the section on prepositions.<sup>2</sup>

From this survey of personal pronouns and the definite article, the criteria they furnish for establishing the grammatical gender of nouns seem to fall into three categories:

I. Those by which a clear distinction is made between all three genders of a given case, such as the accusative singular, except in a few doubtful and problematical instances:

hine : heo : hit

þene : þa : þat<sup>3</sup>

II. Those by which a clear distinction (with the same qualifications about exceptional cases) is made between mascul-

1. op. cit. p. 11.

2. See p. 90.

3. Sub-variety within any one gender (e.g. asgf. þa, þe, þæ, þea, þeo) is irrelevant so long as any of these forms is in contrast with all forms of the other two genders.

ine and neuter nouns on the one hand and feminine nouns on the other. This is the case with the genitive and dative singular:

his : hire      him : hire  
bes : here      ban : here

III. Those by which a similar distinction is made between masculine and feminine nouns on the one hand and neuter nouns on the other. Such is the case with the nominative singular:

he, heo : hit  
be, ba : bat

The criteria of category I are somewhat weakened in practice by the occasional use with nouns which are normally masculine or neuter of a form of the article ba, be, which is otherwise to be regarded as specifically accusative singular feminine. Similarly, bat need not necessarily establish the neuter gender of the noun it accompanies, since, apart from occasional cases of scribal error, it may, as we have suggested, sometimes have a legitimate non-neuter function as a demonstrative.

The criteria of category II offer the most reliable evidence for feminine gender on account of the very marked regularity of the -re ending of both pronoun and article. As for the masculine and neuter forms, the gsg. his : bes etc. and the dsq. him : ban etc. are useful for establishing that the noun is not feminine in gender.

The criteria of category III are the least reliable, and for two reasons. First, because the extended use of the 'uninflected' forms he, ha with neuter nouns weakens their value as a mark of non-neuter nouns. Secondly, the occasional use of heo in reference to masculine nouns alongside its normal use in reference to feminine, weakens the value of heo as an indicator of feminine gender.

On the whole, the gender of a noun can be established with a fair deal of certainty even in the case of single occurrences, if the noun in question occurs in one of the following situations:

1. In the g/dsg. accompanied by a pronoun or article in -re (f.)
2. In the asg. accompanied by a pronoun or article in -ne (m.)
3. In the n/asg. referred to by the personal pronoun hit (n.)
4. In the n/asg. referred to by the personal pronoun heo (f.)

However reliable such types of evidence may be, the establishing of the gender of a noun must be made only on the basis of all evidence available. In this way possible mistakes based on evidence from one or two instances can often be eliminated. Thus, when a noun which a considerable body of evidence shows to be regularly feminine in gender is found once preceded by a form pat or is referred to by he, we need not be disturbed by these two apparently anomalous cases and our conviction that the gender of the noun is feminine may even teach us something about the use of pat and he which we had not suspected hitherto.



## THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular.

There are two forms of the indefinite article: an and a, both used with all three genders. An usually precedes words beginning with a vowel (e.g. an eotand 58/24), or h (e.g. an heh king 86/23), though there are a few cases of it being used before consonants (e.g. an preost 1/1).<sup>1</sup> These two forms are used in the asgn. as well. On has been recorded once in volume one: on arwe 105/4.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: enne : 9/8 etc. (54 times); enne : 9/21 etc. (11); anne : 5/8 etc. (8); ēne : 149/8. 276/5. 395/7; āne : 165/17. 268/21; ane : 86/2. 186/12; an : 30/21.

There seem to be three possible explanations for the form ane. It could be a) a mistake for anne; b) the result

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1. Other examples are: Achalon heihte an flum 24/3; swilo hit an leon weora 62/18; þ was an leodisc king 91/5; þat an muchel earn spec 120/6; swa me is þin an lime 127/23; sulch hit an liun were 174/13; þa com an gume earnen 364/14; þer is iboren an luttel child 389/8; an swiðe selcuð gumme 411/16; an king þe hehte Rodric 423/5. It could be suggested here as a possibility that an before consonants might mean something stronger than the indefinite article a. It has been pointed out by Madden (vol. 1, p. xliii) that 'an or on is also a numeral one, and equivalent both to an and sum in Anglo-Saxon'. It would appear from these examples that in such functions it was formally distinguished from the indefinite article.



of the falling together of the accusative and the dative; or  
 c) one could see in it, as Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> suggests, the influence  
 of the definite article pane.

What appears to be an uninflected form, i.e. an,  
 occurs only twice, and in both cases the following word begins  
 with a vowel:

a) Brutus him swar an æð 30/21

b) to 3ifuen us an ende 266/3  
 i þine kine-londe.

We may therefore presume that it was originally a mistake for  
anne, a form both nouns would have required, since they are  
 masculine in gender, and that later -e was dropped in this  
 kind of context for phonetic reasons.

#### Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: ane : 7/12 (46 times); ene : 95/15. 209/6;  
ana : 50/19. 67/3;<sup>2</sup> enne : 184/21. 401/13. 408/18. 409/16;  
anne : 256/3; an : 2/21. 206/5. 296/15. 394/22.

The five occurrences in this function of enne and  
anne, otherwise associated with the asgm., weaken the evidence  
 of these two forms for masculine gender. Of the above examples,  
enne feire wimman in 409/16 may be a survival of the OE form,

1. op. cit. p. 13.

2. Another example is to be found in: ana dala of his londa  
 83/14, which suggests a change in gender of the noun dal  
 from neuter to feminine.

the noun having been masculine in gender in OE, though it is feminine elsewhere in *Lazamon*; enne moder in 184/21, might have been influenced by enne in the preceding line, where it is used correctly with the masculine noun fader:

Nefde 3e ba enne fader  
and beie enne moder.

Examples with burh are somewhat more difficult to explain, since this noun, though normally feminine, sometimes appears to be masculine.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is not the case with the example in 256/3, since in the following line the noun is referred to by the feminine pronoun heo:

& anne burh makede.  
he heo makeda ædele.

Nor does it seem to be the case with the other example:

heo arærden enne burge 408/18

since the noun is preceded by the asgf. form þa of the definite article in: þa burh 3æf Armiragus 408/23. All that can be said about fifth example:

Nes he þer buten enne niht 401/13

is that it leaves us uncertain as to the gender of the noun niht in this particular case, since the noun, although on other evidence established as feminine, appears to have changed its gender in: he aras to þan mid-nihte 324/3.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. he ferdan to þan burzen 263/5; & well hine wusten 416/12.

2. For a further discussion on changes in gender see pp. 163-164.

The fact that the asgm. of the definite article, normally found with -n-, sometimes has -nn-,<sup>1</sup> together with the fact that the same thing happens in the case of the indefinite article,<sup>2</sup> suggests that the contrast -n- / -nn- in these words might have 'grammatical' significance, but of case, not of gender. For that reason we may be justified in supposing that the asg. enne is not necessarily an evidence for masculine gender.

An is used several times before words beginning with a vowel. For instance: an oðer (boc) he nom on Latin 2/21; an oðer stret he makede swiðe hendi 206/5; gæderede an oðer (uerde) 394/22.<sup>3</sup> Once it precedes a consonant: ealch of heom an stunde 296/15 wes king in pissen londe.<sup>4</sup>

Accusative singular neuter. v. Nominative singular.

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Forms: anes : 94/7 etc.; with the double consonant: onnes : 67/2; ennes : 370/13; (moni)ēnes : 322/20.

Occasionally the indefinite article appears to be uninflected, as in the following:

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1. Cf. p. 24.

2. Cf. the gsgm/n. below.

3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 22, wrongly lists the last two among masculines.

4. Cf. p. 35, footnote 1.

a) a wifmonnes liche 49/5

b) an eorles wif 299/23.

But in these cases the indefinite article can be taken to relate to the second noun, not the first, in which case the noun in the genitive performs the function of an adjective. When, on the other hand, the adjective agrees with the first noun, i.e. with the noun in the genitive, it also appears in the inflected form, as in: anes hahzes kinges dohter 94/7.<sup>1</sup>

#### Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The common form for both cases in non-prepositional use is are,<sup>2</sup> as in 49/7. Instead of are, hare appears twice (151/10 and 153/16), along with the preposition to.

#### Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The common form for both genders is ane; e.g. 317/10. Instead of ane, āne is used once, together with moni: & moni-āne he dude scome 322/21.

In conclusion we may say that, with certain reservations, it is possible to establish the gender of a noun on

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1. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 23.

2. With prepositions, however, ane, normally associated with the asgf. (or dsgm/n.), occurs several times in the dsgr.; see p. 92.

the evidence of the form of an accompanying indefinite article, particularly in the accusative singular, where a distinction is usually made between all three genders.

As for the genitive singular, the distinction is made between masculine and neuter nouns on the one hand by the use of the contrastive inflectional forms -es and -re respectively. The ending -re is also an indicator of a feminine noun in the dative singular, while ane accompanies both masculine and neuter nouns in this case.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Since the adjective na behaves in a similar manner to the indefinite article, I give here only an illustration of its forms as they occur without discussing them.

nsg.: na : 56/23; ne : 298/5; no : 149/4; nan : 85/4;

nā : 354/24; nane : 152/22.

asgm.: nenne : 7/18; nenne : 241/14; nanne : 136/14; nonne :  
241/8; nan : 241/10.

asgf.: nane : 132/20.

asgn.: na : 144/7.

gsgm/n.: nanes : 427/22.

g/dsgf.: ?nare.

dsgm/n.: ?nane; nanne : 152/9.



## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

Forms: þes : 5/12 etc.; þas : 201/7; þis : 174/8.

Diehn<sup>1</sup> lists also þeos : 11.399/3 and þæs : 111.297/6.

It appears that the form þes < OE þes was still felt, to a certain extent, to be the proper masculine form. The other forms of the demonstrative pronoun in the nsgm. concern us here only in so far as they coincide with forms associated with the other two genders, thus giving rise to ambiguity as to gender.<sup>2</sup>

Nominative singular feminine.

Forms: þeos : 12/8 etc.; þas : 87/18 etc.; þes : 302/9. A few examples of þis have been noted by Hoffmann<sup>3</sup> : 11.245/6. 11.411/19. 11.577/7. 111.158/11.

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1. op. cit. p. 70.

2. For an explanation of the possible development of these variously spelt forms, see A. Luhmann, 'Die Überlieferung von *Lazamon's Brut*', Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xxi, pp. 86-7.

3. op. cit. p. 19. These examples, however, require some comment. The close connection with the OE tacen, n. may account for the use of þis with taconinge, f. in 11.245/6. Though it is not always possible to decide whether tiðende is in the singular or plural, there are examples where it is clearly neuter (see the Glossary). This would seem to justify the use of þis with that noun in 11.411/19. Both ferde and weorlde, though normally feminine, are also sometimes found with the neuter form of the definite article (see pp. 24 and 27), so that the use of þis with them in 11.577/7 and 111.158/11, respectively, may be legitimate.

Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> alleges that the form beos is not a descendant of the OE þeos, but an alternative spelling of bes. This he claims on the grounds that beos is also used as the asgf., as well as the nominative and accusative plural. The fact that some other words with eo and ēo in OE have kept the same spelling in Lazamon<sup>2</sup> weakens his argument considerably.<sup>3</sup>

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

Forms: his : 12/2 etc. (49 times); þas : 123/8. 197/9; bes : 312/18;<sup>4</sup> beos : 156/10; þisse : 66/2.<sup>5</sup>

From the foregoing it will be seen that in the nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun those very forms by which a distinction of gender was made in OE, namely bes - beos - his, are still, though to a small degree, gender-distinctive in Lazamon.

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1. op. cit. p. 9.

2. cf. weofed (OE weofod); þeod (OE þēod).

3. For a possible explanation of the development of forms other than beos, see Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 10 and 19.

4. Diehn, op. cit. p. 72, also lists bes in: bes wurse taken 57/2, probably misguided by Madden's translation, although Madden himself has pointed out the mistake in the interpretation of this line, saying that it is to be taken as the gsgm. of the definite article, accompanying the noun wurse; see vol. 111, p. 451.

5. For other spellings than his, see Diehn, op. cit. p. 72 and Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 7-8. On the form þisse, see Hoffmann, ibid. p. 27.

But we have also seen that other spellings occur side by side with these. The result of this is to make an unambiguous distinction of gender impossible, for a form which in OE expressed one gender and one only, came to be used - at least occasionally - with other genders as well. As a result, we have a situation in which pes - peos - pis may stand for:

a) nsgm. - nsgf. - nsgn. respectively

b) nominative singular irrespective of gender.

The order of frequency with which the nominative singular forms occur, as given above, clearly shows that although the form pis was occasionally used with masculine and feminine nouns, it is extremely likely to mean that the noun it accompanies is neuter.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion we may say that the demonstrative pronoun in the nominative singular has lost to some extent the capacity for expressing a distinction in gender. It cannot, therefore, be fully relied on as evidence when we are seeking to establish the gender of a noun. At best, the form in question can do no more than strongly suggest some conclusion which we must then seek to confirm on the basis of other kind of evidence.

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1. It should also be noted that pas, originally an asgf. form, sometimes stands as the nominative singular for all genders, showing at one at the same time a confusion of genders and cases. It is doubtful whether such a usage could have developed, if the gender system had not by this time begun to disintegrate.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: þesne : 35/25 etc.; hisne : 228/17. 384/5;  
þusne<sup>1</sup> : 174/9; þesne<sup>2</sup> : 11.113/13.

From the point of view of gender, and probably of case, it is noteworthy that, though the instances of the asgm. of the demonstrative pronoun are admittedly rare, they always occur with the distinctive inflectional form -ne. We should observe in particular that there are no cases of his in the accusative singular with masculine nouns.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: þas : 87/1 etc. (16 times); þeos : 275/9 (5);<sup>3</sup>  
þms : 119/6, 9.

Whether þeos is originally a nominative form or not, is a point which need not be discussed here.<sup>4</sup> One fact of

1. According to Luhmann, op. cit. p. 92, u in þusne, as well as in hune (see p. 13), probably represents the OE y, since in late OE and early ME y often stands for i in such cases; cf. also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 17.
2. Cited by Diehn, op. cit. p. 71.
3. Diehn, ibid. p. 72, cites þeos in 136/3 as an illustration of the asgf. The noun with which it is used, however, is maide, which, though referred to by the feminine form heo of the personal pronoun, is otherwise treated as neuter. Besides, þeos in this case is in fact the gsgn. of the definite article, governed by the verb wilnede: wilnede þeos mæidenes.
4. This is discussed by Luhmann, op. cit. pp. 86-87.



great importance, however, is that except for a single occurrence of his with a historically feminine noun, viz. answare in 188/13, no other cases of his have been noted in the asgf. any more than in the asgm., so that we may accept it almost as certain that his in the accusative singular is used only with neuter nouns.<sup>1</sup> It therefore constitutes a very valuable criterion for the establishment of the gender of such nouns.

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Forms: bisses : 35/21 etc.; (for neuter only) pisse : 156/25. 292/14. 383/10.

Though the occurrences of the genitive singular forms are not numerous, because of the fact that the function of that case came more and more to be taken over by the preposition of, they present a problem that requires some comment. In what appears to be one and the same situation, we find two alternative forms of the genitive. For instance:<sup>2</sup>

a) was pisses londes quene 11.36/11

b) & him sulf pisses londes king 11.131/13

as compared with:

c) pa is pisse londes quene 156/25

d) he wes pisse londes king 292/14

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1: In this case we must assume that there has been a change in gender of the noun answare from feminine to neuter.

2. Examples from vol. 11 are cited by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 27.



Disagreeing with Madden<sup>1</sup> who regards all such examples without -s as scribal omissions, Hoffmann<sup>2</sup> suggests that it is a genuine alternative form which is in fact common to all genders in the oblique cases.

Genitive singular feminine.

Forms: bissere : 404/18; bisse : 104/16.

Hoffmann<sup>3</sup> maintains that bisse does not correspond to the OE bisse. He holds that the gsgf., as well as the dsgr., appears exclusively as bissere, a form modelled on the pattern of the definite article and that of the strong adjective,<sup>4</sup> and that the single instance of bisse in 104/16 (pe wes bisse leod-ene king) is to be otherwise explained. This he regards as being of the same order as the gsgn. bisse, a common oblique case form.<sup>5</sup>

But we may consider the problem from another point of view than that of asking whether bisse is a descendant of OE bisse or not. For it is important from the standpoint of the present descriptive investigation to establish whether bisse is used with feminine nouns in non-prepositional cases at all.

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1. See vol. 111, p. 470.

2. op. cit., p. 27.

3. ibid., p. 6.

4. Cf. Diehn, op. cit., p. 71.

5. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 27.

The above examples, both of bisse and the -re form, are used with the noun leode. This noun is treated in Lazamon as both singular and plural; if singular, it can be feminine and neuter in gender. It is therefore difficult to decide whether bisse stands for the gsgf. or gsgn. or for the genitive plural, and there is nothing about the form of the noun itself which makes it possible to establish its gender. The following examples show the confusion not only of forms associated with different genders, but also of singular and plural forms:

- a) for he wes heore lauerd  
and al bissere leodene 306/15
- b) na bissere leodes folke 404/18  
for lauerd me halden.
- c) þa isæh bisses ledes king 412/2
- d) þa iwerð bisse leodes king 296/24
- e) þe wes bisse leodene king 104/16

As all evidence about bisse in the gsgf. is based on this noun, no conclusion can be reached as to its use with feminine nouns in the genitive singular. The answer to the question whether or not it was used with feminine nouns at all, must therefore depend on its use in the dative singular.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Forms: bisse : 412/10. With prepositions we also find: bissen : 99/11 etc.; bissene : 158/8 etc.; and Diehn (op. cit., p. 71) adds : bissi : 11. 70/ 18.

Dative singular feminine.

Forms: bissen : ?300/9. With prepositions: bissere : 104/13 etc.; bessere : 303/12; bisse : 300/4; bissen : 306/23.

Because of the scarcity of examples in the dative singular in non-prepositional use, no occurrences of bisse or bissere have been noted. The problem of bisse with feminine nouns must therefore be considered in the light of the above example in 300/9, which reads: & rædden bissen peoden. The verb rædden governs the dative and the noun peode is treated as feminine in Lazamon, as in OE. The ending -n may be due to nunnation in Lazamon or to a confusion of genders; alternatively, peoden is perhaps to be taken as plural. Even though the noun peode is normally feminine in Lazamon, we cannot claim with any certainty that bissen really stands for an expected form bisse.

That bisse was used with feminine nouns must be illustrated by the following example, in which the noun laze, always feminine in the A text, is used after the preposition for:

For bisse uniwæste<sup>1</sup> laze 300/4  
his leode hine hateden.

From the present point of view it matters very little whether we say that bisse is a survival of OE bisse as the g/ds/gf. or

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1. uniwæste? (Madden).

whether it is a new form common to all genders: the fact is that as an indication of the gender it has no value to us.<sup>1</sup>

By way of concluding what has been said so far, we may note that demonstrative pronoun can be relied on as an indication of grammatical gender only in the asgm. by a form in -ne, in the asgn. by the form his; also in the gsgm/n. if it has the distinctive inflectional form -s, and in the g/dsgf. if it has the gender-distinctive form -re.

#### POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

##### Nominative singular.

Two forms: min and mi are used in the nominative singular irrespective of gender, min being used before a vowel (e.g. min eam 376/18) or h (e.g. min herte 311/9), mi before a consonant (e.g. mi fæder 129/12). There are a few examples, however, in which min precedes a consonant (e.g. min riche 404/9). The same forms are used in the asgn.

##### Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: mine : 30/8 etc. (11 times); minne : 34/11. 356/20; mīne : 377/20. 379/15; min : 127/10.

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1. An other example, that of has in: & hermes dude has leoden 163/10, whether it be in the singular or plural, also has no value, as it is an uninflected form of the demonstrative pronoun.

As can be seen from the above, apart from the exclusively masculine form minne, another form which is identical with the asgf. is frequently used for the asgm., thus invalidating mine as evidence for the feminine gender. The omission of -e in 127/10 is probably due to the following vowel: min alre beste þein.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: mine : 40/1 etc. (16 times); mīe : 375/11; min : 30/10; mī : 379/7; mīne : 403/5.

OE nouns in -scipe are treated as feminine in Lazon. The solitary example given above of mīne in the accusative is used with such a noun: her to biwinne/ wurdscipe mīne 403/5, and may therefore be regarded as a survival of the original masculine gender of this word.<sup>1</sup>

Accusative singular neuter. v. Nominative singular.

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Examples of the genitive singular are very rare and those that occur are mostly used with nouns denoting persons. But, as Hoffmann<sup>2</sup> also observes, we may presume that the form

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1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, suggests that this is a scribal error.

2. ibid. p. 16.



mines is used with all masculine and neuter nouns. There is, however, one instance of the possessive pronoun being used without the distinctive inflectional ending -s:

al bridden dale mi lond 45/17  
ich wolde setten Brutan an hond.

The only possible explanation of this form seems to be that the whole phrase was regarded as the direct object, hence the asgn. form preceding the noun lond.<sup>1</sup>

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Examples of these two cases in non-prepositional use are not numerous and, as might be expected from a comparison with the g/dsgf. of the indefinite article, the only form for both cases is mine, as in 358/25.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The only form that occurs in non-prepositional use is mine, as in 30/15.

The foregoing survey of the forms of the possessive pronoun of the first person singular shows that owing to the frequent use of the form mine for the asgm., a useful form by

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1. The form pine occurs twice in the gsgm. (see the note over-leaf). These, together with the examples of the demonstrative pronoun without -s in the gsgm/n. (see p. 45), show that this ending was also beginning to die out.



which earlier the feminine gender was unequivocally distinguished from the masculine and neuter, can now no longer serve as a criterion for establishing gender. The accusative singular therefore no longer provides reliable evidence for distinguishing the three genders; it is still useful, however, in providing contrast between masculine and feminine nouns on the one hand and neuter on the other, so long as the former are preceded by a possessive form ending in -e and not (as in rare cases) by the type min.<sup>1</sup>

A distinction between masculine and neuter nouns on the one hand and feminine nouns on the other is made in the genitive singular by the contrastive inflectional forms in -s and -re respectively, and in the dative singular by mine as against mire.

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1. Since the second person is of the same morphological structure as the first person, I have thought it unnecessary to discuss it separately. For that reason only a list of forms is given here:

nsg. : bin : 184/17; bi : 127/23; bi : 97/12; bine : 156/24.  
388/19.

asgm. : bine : 141/15; binne : 216/14; bine : 216/10; bin :  
381/2.

asgf. : bine : 30/14; bin̄ : 283/13; bie : 162/6; bin : 265/23.

asgn. : bi : 419/20; bi : 216/2; bine : 162/15.

gsgm/n. : pines : 149/20; bine : 21/1. 185/12.

g/dsgf. : pire : 216/13.

dsgm/n. : ?pine.

## ADJECTIVES

An examination of the text shows that *Lazamon* uses what we may still describe as strong and weak adjective forms, but that his usage differs somewhat from that in OE. For forms which clearly can only descend from OE strong forms appear where (historically) we should have expected weak ones, and vice versa. In *Lazamon*, only what we may continue to call the "strong" adjective still has distinctive forms for various genders, more or less on the same pattern as in OE. The weak adjective is no longer so declined as to be capable of indicating the gender of the following noun; endings which were formerly gender-distinctive have been levelled to an invariable -e, or (very occasionally) -en. Along with forms which we may identify and label as "strong" and "weak", "neutral" uninflected forms appear in contexts where we should have expected either distinctively strong or weak forms. Like those in -e and -en, these uninflected forms are, of course, of no use as positive evidence for gender. They are nevertheless worth some consideration, since they play an essential part in the process which resulted in the eventual disappearance of grammatical gender.

In order to see in what ways *Lazamon*'s usage of the two main declensional categories of the adjective differs from that of OE, it seems best to examine them in situations which,

historically speaking, would seem to demand specifically one or the other type of adjective forms. The following survey is therefore divided into two parts. In the first, an examination is made of the adjective used attributively without any preceding demonstrative element, and predicatively, that is to say in situations in which the strong form is to be expected. The second part deals with the adjective used after demonstratives, in which case the weak form is to be expected.<sup>1</sup>

# I. ADJECTIVES USED WITHOUT PRECEDING DEMONSTRATIVE ELEMENT

## Nominative singular masculine.

In an overwhelming majority of cases, 96 out of 119, the nsgm. adjective is uninflected; e.g.: Inne Griclone was a zung mon 17/3. It is interesting to note that without a single exception all these adjectives ended in a consonant in OE.

In only 23 cases does the adjective appear with the ending -e; e.g. : he was a zenge king 132/19. In 17 cases, however, this -e descends directly from the OE nsg. form of adjectives such as : riche (OE rīce), hende (OE (ge)hende), kene (OE cāne), wilde (OE wilde), scone (OE scēne) and wrache (cf. OE wræcca).

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1. A statistical survey of forms in which adjectives appear in this text is given in tabular form at the end of this section.



The uninflected form is presumably a descendant of the OE strong form; that with -e may represent an intrusion of the weak form in cases where it is not historically justifiable. However, since -as will be seen - the other two genders also appear with the same adjectival forms in the nominative singular, this case is not indicative of the gender of the noun and is therefore without relevance to the present investigation.

Nominative singular feminine.

In 13 out of 18 instances, the adjective appears without an ending in the nsgf.; e.g.: (bi-tweonen heom arms walc & win) flezht & muchel seorwa 107/22. This high proportion of cases of the uninflected form may be due primarily to the kind of the adjectives themselves. For the short-stemmed polysyllabic adjectives in -ig, -el, -en, -er, -ol and -or generally formed the nsgf. and n/apln. without ending in OE itself.<sup>1</sup> In this way we can explain seven instances of the uninflected adjective in the nsgf., all of which are with muchel. Similarly, the long-stemmed monosyllabic wis is uninflected here as it was in OE;<sup>2</sup> the example reads: þe 3et leouede þe alde quene/ a wifmon wis and kene 212/19.

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1. Cf. R. Quirk and C.L. Wrenn, An Old English Grammar, London, 1955, p. 33.

2. Ibid. p. 32.



In one instance OE ædele appears without -e in the nsgf. : heo wes swiðe ædel burh 124/1, no doubt for metrical reasons.

Of the remaining four examples, one is with a historically masculine noun in -scipe (þ is monscipe steor 16/1), which - together with other nouns with the same ending - is normally treated as feminine in *Lazamon A*, but might have retained a masculine form in this case. The rest consist of one example each of whulo, swulo and al.

There are only five examples with adjectives ending in -e, of which only one can be regarded as inflectional -e : me pughed<sup>1</sup> muche scome 404/20; the rest are with adjectives which had -e in the stem.

#### Nominative singular neuter.

In the nsgn. too, the majority of adjectives, 33 examples out of 45, are uninflected; e.g.: Muchel folk þer was of-sclawen 24/15.

There are only 12 examples with the adjective ending in -e; e.g.: redde blod scede 221/7. Of these, however, three are with riue (OE *rȳfe*), two with unimete (OE *ungemæte*) and two with kene (OE *cēne*).

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1. punched? (Madden).

Accusative singular masculine.

In the majority of cases, 45 out of 68, the adjective has the gender-distinctive ending -ne; e.g.: & swar muchelne oad 28/17; Aeuer alcne godne mon 119/18 he aðelede mid gode.<sup>1</sup>

Less frequently (16 times),<sup>2</sup> forms in -e are also used; e.g.: Nu bidded Lazamon/ alcne eðele mon (B: echne godne mon) 3/20; he makede enne stronge castel 9/8. From the majority of such cases it appears that the principle of economy is at work in such examples and therefore the accusative (as well as the masculine gender) is indicated only once, namely by alcne and enne in the above two examples.<sup>3</sup> Only in three cases is the

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1. I have not included in the above number the following example: monine seorhfulne pleize 97/2, since it is not possible to decide whether it is a solitary survival of the OE asgm. monigne or a contraction of moni and enne, a combination which is otherwise very frequent in this text.
  2. There are six more examples, all with alche or alle in temporal phrases, qualifying masculine nouns dæi and winter; e.g.: þeo alche dæie hine larden 184/6, þeo alle dæi þus cleopeden 372/21. The question here is whether or not they are examples of the accusative of time or remains of the old instrumental, which is sometimes found in other functions; e.g.: hehten heom mucle eize 414/1 ut of his mh seone. If the latter is the case, then these six examples should be included in the number of occurrences of the dative forms.
  3. It may be worth noting that in six instances the adjectives discarding the inflectional ending -ne are those ending in -e in the nsg. in OE; therefore they should have been included among the examples of the uninflected adjective, if this had been a historical rather than a descriptive study. - The other three examples are of adjectives ending in -en in the nsg., namely stelen and stemen. It is possible that the ending -e of these adjectives in the asg. is only a matter of not doubling the n. For the example of leofue in: enne leofue sune 430/14 there seem to be four possible explanations; a) it may be a genuine case of the asgm. without the ending -ne; b) it may have been misspelt for leofne by the scribe; c) or misread by the editor; d) it may also be a misprint.

adjective the sole qualifying word: he sommede vnimete here  
 337/3, þer of we habbed sceome/ & at oure herte muche grame  
 162/10, þeos habbed swa murie song 56/22.<sup>1</sup>

With originally masculine nouns the adjective appears six times without an ending, but for the lack of other evidence it is not possible to establish in every case whether they are still masculine in *Lazamon*. Three of these, however, are examples with nouns established as masculine. They are: Ne nomen heo nonne cniht guic 241/8, enne swuðe sælkud stan 424/22, swa heo fehten al dæi 339/8.

Only one single occurrence of the adjective with the ending -en has been recorded (he hefde feiren ende 292/8) and that may be due to the initial vowel of the following noun.

#### Accusative singular feminine.

The most common form, 39 examples out of 61, ends in -e, as in: ah he hefde muchele strengþe 18/11.<sup>2</sup> This may, of course, be derived directly from the -e of the asgf. of the strong adjective; but it may in part represent the spread of a more general adjectival -e ending, such as we have already noticed above.

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1. That these are to be regarded as examples of the accusative masculine is confirmed by the regularity with which the nouns in question - with the exception of song, for which there is no other evidence - behave as masculine in other contexts.
  2. Here are also included three instances of adjectives ending in -e with nouns in -scipe, which on other evidence show a change from masculine to feminine. See p. 174.

Less often, 21 times,<sup>1</sup> an uninflected form is to be found, as in: igadered his ferde/ muchel ferd and riche 64/10.<sup>2</sup>

Here, again, we find only one instance of the adjective ending in -en and in the same sort of situation as in the asgm., namely before a following vowel. The example is: makian ich wille of pine nome/ meren ane stowe. 51/24.<sup>3</sup>

#### Accusative singular neuter.

The majority of examples, 70 out of 77, appear without an ending; e.g.: he 3ef heo his stepmoder/ ... & muchel lond þer to 10/20. This form probably represents the OE strong form, but once more, since it coincides with the "neutral" uninflected form, it may in part represent an encroachment of this, which can stand with all nouns regardless of gender.

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1. Two of these are with the noun scome, which otherwise shows a change from f. to m. Two examples with the same noun appear with the ending -e in the asg.; since both forms may be remains, full or partial, of the asgf. form, it seems more appropriate to list them here. - Included in the above number is also one example with the noun care, which on some evidence appears to have become masculine, but on other evidence is shown to be still feminine as in OE.
  2. It should be noted that, again, a high proportion of these examples consists of disyllabic adjectives ending in -el (8), and -er (6), which, apparently, resist inflexion even in the accusative singular.
  3. Sometimes the ending -e may be dropped before a vowel; cf. : bute lutel ane wile 15/20, ane lutle while 248/9.



Forms in -e occur very rarely. Only five instances have been recorded; e.g.: muchē lond he him 3ef 7/6. Of these, however, two examples are with the adjective hende, which had -e in the nominative singular in OE.<sup>1</sup>

A curious intrusion of the aasm. ending -ne occurs in two cases where a change in gender seems unlikely, though not impossible.<sup>2</sup> They are: muchelne wundre 320/4 and: alcne 3ere 332/23. It may be that -ne, being the only distinct accusative ending, was used here to mark the case unambiguously, and without regard to gender.<sup>3</sup>

#### Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

As might be expected, the genitive ending is -es, as in: anes hah3es kinges dohter 94/7, and for neuter: þer wes monies kunnes folc 73/5. The uninflected form of the adjective does not appear to be used here at all.<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. The temporal phrase ælche 3ere is regarded here as dative (instr.) and included in the number of design. adjective in -e.
  2. See p. 170 f.
  3. It is noteworthy that with masculine nouns in the same situation as example 2, i.e. in temporal phrases, the adjective occurs mostly with the ending -e, presumably as the dative (instr.) rather than as the accusative with -a; cf. p. 57, note 2.
  4. One possible example of the adjective ending in -e in the genitive singular neuter occurs in: alle þa maðmes/ þe weoren monie kunnes 253/5, provided this is singular and not plural.



Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Examples are not numerous; those that have been noted show the characteristic feminine ending -re; e.g. : alre worulde wunne 387/6 and: þa quað Membrici' / ludere stefne 40/7.<sup>1</sup>

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Besides inflected forms, as in: alle folk he dude riht 292/3, uninflected forms are also used; e.g.: & al folk hit wes leof 102/12.<sup>2</sup>

Vocative singular.

All examples, with both masculine and feminine nouns (none has been found with neuters), end in -e, in spite of the fact that all descend either from OE long-stemmed monosyllables,

1. Two examples in -re, however, require some comment. The first is: seolcuð him þuhte/ swulchere speche (B: selcuð him þuhte/ solchere speche) 21/18. In both texts the form -re appears to be a loose genitive of respect, dependent ultimately on seolcuð. In the second example: Ac erst ich wille fondien / whulchere beo mi beste freond 125/9, the form whulchere is dictated by the verb fondian which in OE could take gen. and dat. as well as acc. In this text the verb clearly takes gen. or dat. (a comparison with: he fondede þan leoden 281/8 would suggest that in *Lazamon* A it governs the dative, leod having changed from feminine to neuter here), but no longer in the B text where the corresponding line reads: Ac erst ich wolle fondi/ woch me mest louie (which referring to daughter).
2. In one instance the asgm. -ne occurs with a masculine noun in the dsq.: auerelcne cnihte 329/7 he 3ef 3eoue brihte. Since the noun is obviously masculine, there seems to be no other explanation than that it is a scribal error.

like lād, lēof, hēah or from OE disyllabic fæger and therefore should be uninflected, showing the same resistance to inflexions in this case as they mostly do in others.<sup>1</sup> These forms in -e, however, must all correspond to OE weak forms, since, in OE, weak forms were used more often than strong ones in all phrases containing a vocative (irrespective of whether they were preceded by min, þin or not). Examples, however, are not numerous; only eight are noted altogether; e.g.: saie me lēde mon 96/14, Leafdi Diana; leoue Diana/hege Diana. help me to neode 51/13-14.<sup>2</sup>

\*

Uninflected forms and forms in -e are also used predicatively. E.g.:

masculine:

- a) for cniht he was swiðe god 15/23
- b) 3if he were swa þriste 16/8
- also once c) abolzen he wes on mode 315/7.

feminine:

- a) Guendoleine wes swiðe strong 106/11
- b) þa brude deade iwearð 13/17

neuter:

- a) þat fæht wes swuðe strong 178/4
- b) & swuðe stær & swuðe longe 178/5

---

1. Cf. the behaviour of the adjective when used predicatively.  
 2. In the example: Seie me nupe leo swein 150/20, leo is probably an error for leofe.

The situation with regard to the predicative adjective is as follows:

| <u>gender:</u> | <u>total:</u> | <u>uninflected:</u> | <u>-e:</u> | <u>-en:</u> |
|----------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|-------------|
| m.             | 182           | 146                 | 35         | 1           |
| f.             | 54            | 34                  | 20         |             |
| n.             | 30            | 16                  | 14         |             |

This, however, needs some explanation. The difference between uninflected forms and those in -e is not that between genders, for instance between masculine and neuter on the one hand and feminine on the other (in which case the table would have reflected the mixing up of such forms); it is rather a continuation of OE forms preserved to a remarkable degree. Adjectives descending from OE adjectives with -e as an integral part of the stem, retain this -e whatever the gender, as in OE,<sup>1</sup> and the majority of those adjectives with no inflexion in the nsgr. in OE, also appear without one here.<sup>2</sup>

So, out of 35 instances of adjectives in -e with masculine nouns, 33 had -e in OE, and 12 out of 14 with neuter nouns, leaving thus only a total of 4 for adjectives where this -e is a new development, two for each gender. Similarly, out of 20 occurrences of the adjectives ending in -e with feminine nouns, 18 are of adjectives with -e in OE, and 2 have developed

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1. Such are: *mæle, bliðe, feie, hende, imete, iqueme, kene, liðe, milde, riche, riue, stille, sturne, vn-fere, unimete, wilde.*

2. They are: *dead, deop, lað, leof, reod, sær, wis; feiger, muchel.*

it later, deade and sare, both of which are normally uninflected, as in OE.

Of the uninflected adjectives used with feminine nouns, 20 out of 34 belong to that class of adjectives which had no inflexion in the nsgr. in OE.

## II. ADJECTIVES USED AFTER DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS<sup>1</sup>

### Nominative singular.

The formal distinction of m./ f. n. weak adjectives, which was made in OE, is now absent. A form in -e is used for all three genders; e.g.: & þeus spac þe alde king 125/18; þis understod þe geonge quene 191/14; þat Troynisce folc 18/19. The alternative use of an uninflected adjective is quite rare;<sup>2</sup> e.g.: And Belin þe adel king 237/13 wes in Alemainne;<sup>3</sup> þeo

---

1. Adjectives that were always strong in OE, as for instance eall, oðer, are not treated here since the absence of weak forms in the case of such adjectives is not significant as it would be in the case of adjectives which, historically, could be declined both strong and weak. Furthermore, to include such forms would undoubtedly create a false picture of the degree to which strong forms encroach upon the territory of weak ones. - Ordinal numerals, comparatives and superlatives are also disregarded here, since they (by being always or for the most part weak) make no real contribution towards our understanding of the behavior of adjectives capable of taking both types of inflexion.

2. For details see the table at the end of this section.

3. Note that the OE form of this adjective was ædele, a form which is normally found unchanged in *Lazamon*.



uniseli moder 171/7 þus hire sune murðe;<sup>1</sup> wes al þis heodisc  
folc 112/12 vnimete riche.

Accusative singular masculine.

The most frequently used forms are those with -e;  
e.g.: & grette þen alde king 7/3, though examples with the  
strong ending -ne are also occasionally found, as in: þene  
muchelne drem 368/16. Examples in -en, contrary to what we  
might expect historically, are rare or non-existent.<sup>2</sup>

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form ends in -e; e.g.: þa hefde heo  
isclawen þene king/ þa neowe quene & heora child 106/8. Forms  
in -en are rare (I have noted only one example in vol. 1. in

1. This and similar cases may be due to the adjective ending  
in a vowel, although we often find such adjectives, i.e.  
with -ig in OE, with the inflectional ending -e; e.g.:  
þ wes þe bisie king 136/5, þeo uniseli moder 171/11, þat  
tiddende swiðe murie 432/21. OE monig, however, is reduced  
to one form, viz. moni, in all cases except in the genitive  
singular, where it sometimes appears as monies (e.g. 73/5).  
Cf. also p. 57, note 1.
2. The example: & falden þene ælden nomen 304/6 is problematic  
since it is uncertain from the context whether it is in the  
singular or in the plural; cf. Madden, vol. 111, p. 474, and  
Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54. - The other possible example is:  
nome þa hæluen dale 302/19, provided þa here is an uninflect-  
ed form and not the asgf. In any case, the survival of -en  
in this phrase is very common in ME (see OED s.v. halfendeal),  
going back to the OE weak maso. þone healfan dæl, and pre-  
sumably retained mechanically, owing to the fact that the  
adjective and the noun were often written together and regard-  
ed as a compound.

non-prepositional use) and, as Hoffmann observes,<sup>1</sup> occur mostly before vowels or h, as in: And he to-clipede/ muchelen his ferde 169/23.<sup>2</sup> The agreement of the asgm. and asgf. in using -e would suggest that it chiefly derives in each case from OE -an.

#### Accusative singular neuter.

As might be expected, a form in -e is most frequently used; e.g.: Ascanius heold þis drichliche lond 10/11. Only one example has been recorded of the uninflected form: þat hea[h] der 14/13.

#### Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

The regular form ends in -s, on the analogy of the strong adjective; e.g.: þes hezes kinges 3/8. Though very rarely, forms in -e are also to be found, as in: þe Leil sune þes riche kinges wes 123/10. No forms ending in -en have been noted in the first volume;<sup>3</sup> this would confirm our hypothesis that the OE -an of adjectival endings leads regularly to Lazamon's -e, except where analogical influences are at work.

1. op. cit. p. 44.

2. One cannot, however, be sure whether this is a weak form or a strong form + n before h, since - as in OE - Lazamon sometimes treats as strong the adjective when it precedes his; e.g.: mid muchelere his ferde 65/11 as against: mid muchelen his ferde 328/11.

3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 45, cites a single occurrence of the gsgm. ending in -en in: þas adelen kinges 21146.

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

No examples have been noted of the *gsf.*; in the single occurrence of the *dsf.*, the adjective has the very rare ending *-en*: & he hoe 3af þare æbelen/ AElienor þe was Henries quene 3/6.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Examples are very rare and none has been recorded of the *dsgn.*; all three examples of the *dsgm.* have the *-e* form; e.g.: þa com hit to mode/ Ebrauc þon gode 112/16.

Vocative singular.

Only one single occurrence of the vocative singular has been noted in vol. 1. and this ends in *-e*: Androge' mi leofue mon 380/24 al þine wille ic wulle don.

It remains to consider which adjectival forms can be regarded as useful for the establishment of grammatical gender in *Lazamon*. There still remain certain distinctive forms which constitute valuable evidence. Of these the most important are three endings of the strong declension:

- a) *-ne* denoting the *asg.* of masculine nouns;<sup>1</sup>

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1. We must, of course, bear in mind the possibility of at least occasional examples of f. and n. nouns (like those listed on p. 60) sometimes being preceded by adjectives with this ending; in such cases (as we have already suggested) *-ne* can simply imply "accusative case" rather than anything concerning gender.

- b) -re denoting the g/dsg. of feminine nouns;<sup>1</sup>
- c) -es denoting the gsg. of nouns which are either masculine or neuter, but not feminine in gender.

It should be noted that if an adjective, in the combination 'adjective + noun' is uninflected in the accusative singular, the probability is that that the noun in question is neuter. For the occurrences of the uninflected adjective with neuter nouns are much more frequent here than in the case of masculine or feminine nouns. This evidence, however, is not reliable in itself to establish the gender of a noun; but it should be taken into account where it supports evidence of other kinds.

In the combination 'pronominal word + adjective + noun' - unless the adjective happens to have a strong ending - it is only the pronominal word that can tell us anything about the gender of the noun.

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1. It will be clear from what has been said earlier that -ne and -re do not invariably occur in the appropriate situations since they are sometimes replaced by -e and zero forms. This, however, does not destroy the validity of the evidence of -ne and -re where they do occur.



## ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

| strong adjective           |     |    |     |     |     |     |   | weak adjective |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
|----------------------------|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|----------------|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| total                      | -   | -e | -en | -ne | -es | -re | : | total          | -  | -e | -en | -ne | -es | -re | : |
| <u>Nominative singular</u> |     |    |     |     |     |     |   |                |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
| M                          | 119 | 96 | 23  | -   | -   | -   | - | M              | 64 | 5  | 59  | -   | -   | -   | - |
| F                          | 18  | 13 | 5   | -   | -   | -   | - | F              | 18 | 1  | 17  | -   | -   | -   | - |
| N                          | 45  | 33 | 12  | -   | -   | -   | - | N              | 30 | 1  | 28  | 1   | -   | -   | - |
| <u>Accusative singular</u> |     |    |     |     |     |     |   |                |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
| M                          | 68  | 6  | 16  | 1   | 45  | -   | - | M              | 18 | -  | 15  | 1?  | 2   | -   | - |
| F                          | 61  | 21 | 39  | 1   | -   | -   | - | F              | 18 | -  | 17  | 1?  | -   | -   | - |
| N                          | 77  | 70 | 5   | -   | 2   | -   | - | N              | 26 | 1  | 25  | -   | -   | -   | - |
| <u>Genitive singular</u>   |     |    |     |     |     |     |   |                |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
| M                          | 2   | -  | -   | -   | -   | 2   | - | M              | 4  | -  | 1   | 1   | -   | 2   | - |
| F                          | 1   | -  | -   | -   | -   | -   | 1 | F              | -  | -  | -   | -   | -   | -   | - |
| N                          | 7   | -  | 1   | -   | -   | 6   | - | N              | -  | -  | -   | -   | -   | -   | - |
| <u>Dative singular</u>     |     |    |     |     |     |     |   |                |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
| M                          | 11  | 1  | 9   | -   | 1   | -   | - | M              | 3  | -  | 3   | -   | -   | -   | - |
| F                          | 4   | -  | -   | -   | -   | -   | 4 | F              | 1  | -  | -   | 1   | -   | -   | - |
| N                          | 8   | 1  | 7   | -   | -   | -   | - | N              | -  | -  | -   | -   | -   | -   | - |
| <u>Vocative singular</u>   |     |    |     |     |     |     |   |                |    |    |     |     |     |     |   |
|                            |     |    |     |     |     |     |   | M              | 4  | -  | 4   | -   | -   | -   | - |
|                            |     |    |     |     |     |     |   | F              | 5  | -  | 5   | -   | -   | -   | - |

In the above table there are certain places where it is perhaps of interest to record the degree of similarity between the Brut and the OE usage with respect to the presence or absence of -e. The facts are given below:

| <u>attributive adjective</u> |           |           |           | <u>predicative adjective</u> |           |           |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <u>Brut</u>                  | <u>-e</u> | <u>OE</u> | <u>-</u>  | <u>Brut</u>                  | <u>-e</u> | <u>OE</u> | <u>-</u>  |
| nsgm.                        | 23        | 6         | 17        | nsgm.                        | 35        | 2         | 33        |
| nsgn.                        | 12        | 5         | 7         | nsgn.                        | 14        | 2         | 12        |
| <u>Brut</u>                  | <u>-</u>  | <u>OE</u> | <u>-e</u> | <u>Brut</u>                  | <u>-</u>  | <u>OE</u> | <u>-e</u> |
| nsgf.                        | 13        | 8         | 5         | nsgf.                        | 34        | 20        | 14        |
| asgf.                        | 21        | 14        | 7         |                              |           |           |           |

# CRITERIA FOR GENDER AFTER PREPOSITIONS

From what we have seen in the discussion of forms not governed by prepositions, it is evident that although both the case and gender systems are still fairly well preserved, they also show some signs of breaking down. It remains now to be seen to what extent *Lazamon* distinguishes between the case forms of the three genders when they are governed by prepositions.

An examination of the text shows that three types of situation must be distinguished:

1. in which the OE system as such is followed, though not, of course, without orthographic (and presumably phonetic) modifications;

2. in which there are signs of some syncretism, so that the forms originally proper to the several oblique cases are no longer always distinguished;

3. in which certain 'uninflected' forms are used, i.e. forms in which no morphological difference occurs according to 'case' in the traditional sense.

According to the pattern of the OE system, we might expect a regular linguistic scheme in which (to take only the singular definite article as illustration) pane<sup>1</sup> would stand

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1. Non-systematic variations in spelling (i.e. variations not affecting the morphological distinctions between e.g. *asgm.* and *asgf.*) are immaterial here and therefore omitted.

for the asgm.; ba for the asgf.; bat for the asgn.; ban for the dsgm/n.; and bare for the g/dsgf.

This scheme does indeed occur, but along with it we also find conventions which exemplify situations 2 and 3. So, exemplifying situation 2, we find for example:

bane used for a) asgm. and b) dsgm/n.;

ban used for a) dsgm/n.; b) 7asgm. and c) dsgf.

and exemplifying situation 3:

be used for a) asgf. and b) all genders and cases;

bat used for a) asgn. and b) all genders and cases in the singular and plural (with demonstrative force).

In the following discussion I shall order the prepositions according to their OE usage, i.e. according to case or cases they governed in OE. In section I, I shall deal with prepositions which governed the accusative; in section II - prepositions which governed the dative (with a subsection dealing with prepositions which governed the genitive); in section III - prepositions which governed both the accusative and the dative.

Illustrations are given of pronominal words, but do not include the personal pronouns, for these show a somewhat different development and will be discussed more fully later.<sup>1</sup> As for adjectives, only those examples with unambiguous gender forms are given, i.e. examples with strong adjectival endings.

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1. See p. 94.

# I. Prepositions which govern the accusative in OE.

3eond is used in *Lazamon A* both with the accusative and the dative with no apparent distinction in its meaning.

## A. With the accusative:

m. : ah eouere heo wenden/ 3eond þene norh enden 11.150/5.<sup>1</sup>

f. : 3eond þa weorlð beon iþm3ed 53/17; *Lazamon* gon liðen/  
wide 3ond þas leode 2/16.

n. : Wide he sende 3eond þat lond 22/4; þet word wes cuð/  
3eond þis lond 285/5.

## B. With the dative:

m. : we swulled beon al fuse/ to færen 3eon þan eærde 188/2.

f. : & þa scipen foren wide/ 3eon þare wintrede s3 5/20;  
he hit letten cuðen wide/ 3eonde þissere þeode 316/13.

n. : þat ne mihte hine bi-halden/ wide 3eon þeon londe  
259/21; Senððe mine sonðen/ 3end alle mine londe 176/15.

umben, as in OE, is used in *Lazamon* only with the accusative:

m. : & umben longne first 13/10 mid wrðscipe comen liðen.

f. : vmben ane stunde 111/17 þa scipen 3aru weoren.

# II. Prepositions which govern the dative in OE.

after (OE prep. with dat. instr. and rarely acc.)

m. : þa Englene londe/ ærest ahten/ æfter þan flode 2/7.

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1. Cited by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 31.



f. : he pohte swa forð teon/ æfter þere Temese 333/20;  
 after þissere Galoes 115/4 Wales was inemned.

n. : & senden to Rome ful iwis/ æfter þan maidene Genuis  
 407/8.

The only inflected example which seems not to conform  
 to the rule is the following:

hehte heo nennen Kærlyd  
 æfter þone kinge 87/7

but other instances with the same verb and with feminine nouns,  
 such as above in 115/4 and also:

Bruttes nemneden þa lazen  
 æfter þare lafuedi 269/11

strongly suggest that þone is to be taken as a dative rather  
 than as an accusative.<sup>1</sup> This is also confirmed by the fact  
 that þone never precedes a noun when used as the direct object.<sup>2</sup>  
 One is probably justified therefore in taking þone as a definite  
 dative form, despite Hoffmann<sup>3</sup> who takes it as an accusative  
 form which is used only after prepositions.

at (OE prep. with dat. and rarely acc.)

m. : æt þon frum rnsen 369/14 he feolde of þon folke/  
 feowerti hundred; Alle þe weren at þisse reade 17/1.

1. Madden seems to take this form as a dative, since he remarks  
 that þene in: wa wrðe þene smið 66/22 "appears to be an error  
 for the dat. þon, þone"; see vol. iii, p. 452.
2. For forms in such a situation see pp. 24-25.
3. op. cit. pp. 10-12; cf. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, who also lists  
 it as an accusative.

f. : þer was muchel folc/ at þere wrastlinge 79/19;  
 he wonede at Ernleze/ at æðelen are chirechen 1/6;  
 ich was at Gornouille/ mire god-fulle dohter 145/18;  
 æt hegere neode 374/6 nu þu must me ræden.

n. : & Nenni' was ilæied/ at þon norð 3æte 1 Lundene 325/17.  
at-foren (OE prep. with dat. and rarely acc.)

m. : ispeken of þan wæidene/ at-foren þan Frense kinge  
 133/9.

n. : Was at-foren þan wæfde 345/14.

bi (OE prep. with dat. and instr.)

m. : þar laien bi þan brimme 191/2; bi þone toppe he hine  
 nom 30/1;<sup>1</sup> & þer inne bi-burizede/ bi ane stan walle  
 73/24; þe bi þisse walle ligged 178/19.

f. : þa bræc þæt sweord in his hond/ riht bi þere hilde  
 66/19; bi are halwe heo riden 403/20; þe bi mire side  
 336/18 isund seze riden; þa hæfde he þreo sunen/  
 bi hegere his quene 296/10.

n. : He makede bi þon weofede 51/1 a swiðe wunsum fur;  
 and leiden þene king bi ane 3æte 304/19; bi wilde  
þisse watere 265/22.

bi-3ende (OE begeondan,<sup>2</sup> prep. with dat.). The only example  
 occurring in vol. 1. is the following:

f. : bi-3ende þere Humbre 183/15.

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1. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, cites this as an accusative.

2. No examples have been noted of the OE bi-3ende which governed  
 the accusative.

from (OE prep. with dat.)

m. : æt<sup>1</sup> cnihtes 3it beoð hider icumen/ from þon kinge  
Arviragune 405/11.

n. : buzen heom fram þan fuhte 248/2; wes from þissen  
londe ifaren 341/24.

nih<sup>2</sup> (OE prep. with dat.)

f. : þere weolcne he wes swiðe nih 122/16.

of (OE prep. with dat.)

m. : þa cnihtes of þan castle 27/20; of ane ende of  
Alemaine 84/5; ær cumen þe ende of þisse dæi 377/4.

f. : þa wes of þare hinde 52/5; þa milc wes of are wite  
hinde 50/23; We scullen of þissere þeode 231/3 cumen  
to þite neode; þenc of mine neode 374/14; Brutus  
hine bi-pohte/ of swulchere neode 29/11.

n. : he feolde of þon folke 369/15 feowerti hundred; alle  
we comen of ane kunne 310/7; for al þat god of þisse  
londe 43/6 we sculen leden mid us; ah ich þe wukle  
lanen/ of mine leode-folo 156/19.

\*

Of those prepositions which in OE governed the genitive,  
two occur in volume one. They are:

an long (OE prep. with gen.) of which the only example is used  
with a feminine noun:

Muche lond he him 3ef/ an long þare sea 7/8.

---

1. Read Ah or Ac (Madden).

2. Cf. noor on p. 90.

It is therefore not possible to say, since the two forms are identical, whether it still followed the OE usage or whether, as is more likely, the dative took the place of the genitive.

toward (OE prep. with gen. and dat.)

m. : and forð he gon wenden/ to-warde þan ende 276/11;  
wunderliche a-wei heo riden/ toward ane muchele  
wude 399/7.

f. : and mid his folke he fleh/ al toward þare sæ 202/15.

n. : þiðerward wende þe king/ to-ward þon deore 275/18;  
heo ferdan from stronde/ toward þisse londe 316/5.

The absence of any examples of genitive forms (at least in volume one and probably in the whole of the work) after prepositions which in OE governed the genitive, suggests that the syncretism of the genitive and the dative in such situations had been completed by the time of *Lazamon*, or, perhaps, that this usage did not apply to this dialect area.

### III. Prepositions which governed the accusative and the dative in OE.

a seems to be of twofold origin, incorporating the OE a and on, the former governing the accusative, the latter the accusative, dative and instrumental. It expresses both local and temporal relations and is used with the accusative and the dative.

#### I. Expressing local relations:

##### A. With the accusative:

m. : For his luue moni eotend/ ic leide deað a þene grund  
97/16.



f. : þa þe a ðas weoreld ibær 214/14.

n. : swa heo comen a þet lond 60/1.

B. With the dative:

m. : a þon castle þer he set 120/7; bi-þenched a Belin  
þone king 337/10.

f. : æ ðere hilte wes igrauen 326/10; for nuste he a nare  
halue 372/13 helpen þ him mahte; bi-þenc a mire lare  
214/9.

n. : a þon londe he fund mete 6/12; Næs he næuere ifunde/  
a næuere nane londe 11.582/6;<sup>1</sup> a þisse londe he heold  
grið 422/23.

It would seem from the preceding that the use of the case depends on the nature of the verb. If the verb denotes motion, it governs the accusative. If it implies rest, it is followed by the dative. The verb smiten, however, does not justify this assumption. OE smitan (which only in later OE acquired the sense of strike<sup>2</sup>) in its earlier meanings governed the accusative.<sup>3</sup> In *Lazamon* it is used with both the accusative and the dative.

A. With the accusative:

m. : þer Herigal smat AEuelin/ swiðe vuele a <sup>a</sup>þene chin  
348/2.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cited by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 30.

2. See Bosworth-Toller: An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, s.v. smitan.

3. ibid.: smite mon a sealfe ærest on ðæt heafod.

4. Cf. Herigal smat Euelin/ swiðe vfele ibene chin 359/9; uppen  
þene helm he hine smat 321/1.

B. With the dative:

m. : and swat<sup>1</sup> hit a pan sweore 277/3.

f. : a pere side he smat Herigal 359/12.

The meaning of smite, however, seems to explain the change. It is a sort of verb of motion, but only in a rather special sense. The subject of it does not move as a whole as with 'go', 'run' etc.; it is thus more like 'kick' and similar verbs signifying rest after the completion of action.

II. Expressing temporal relations. In this function, whether marking a point or a period of time, OE could use both the accusative and the dative. The same usage is continued in *Lazamon*.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Belin a ðene morgen 241/22 letten blawen his bemen;

A þene oðerne dæi 261/7 he com to Denemarke.

f. : a þa midniht heo nomen read 72/1.

B. With the dative:

m. : a þeon time bið best 31/3 þonne men gað to bedde.

f. : also ha wolden a þare niht faren 238/19.

an is presumably a form of on. It expresses both local and temporal relations and is used with the dative.<sup>2</sup> E.g.

m. : An þan ilke time 165/23 hea com a selkeð taken;

hit wes an ane time 309/2.

1. Read: smat.

2. The only example of what looks like an accusative occurs in: heo arærden enne burge/ an enne feire stude 408/19; cf. p. 91.

f. : Alle heom hizeden to/ an elcher halfe 98/14.

n. : heo seiden þat he sould beon anhongen/ an one  
heze treowe 44/7.

bi-fore (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found only with the  
dative in *Lazamon*.

m. : ah we bi-foren þon kinge 376/7 fuhte ful swiðe.

f. : Seie þu bi-fore mire duȝden 127/17.

n. : bi-foren þan wefede he heo spradde 52/6.

for (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) is used in *Lazamon*  
with the accusative and the dative, according to its meaning.

A. If it is used in the sense of as, instead of, in place of,  
for governs the accusative. E.g.:

m. : me heold heo for hehne godd 49/15; & halden þe for  
herre/ for hehne mine lauerd 362/5.

And also if it means for the sake of:

m. : Nu bidded *Lazamon*/ alene eðele mon/ for þene almiten  
god 3/21.

B. If it means on account of, because of or in spite of,  
for governs the dative. E.g.:

m. : Sedðen hit is icleped Wales ... for þan duke Gualun  
90/8; & for þon kinge heo nolden holden grið 118/17.

f. : Sedðen hit is icleped Wales/ for þere quen Galoes  
90/7; For nare ȝitsunge/ for nare ȝiuernesse 405/2-3  
ne com ich to þissen londe; Ic cam for mire ealðde  
127/1 swpe vnbaldeð; þat heo duden for muchelere  
luue 259/22.

n. : ne for alle þen fuhte 243/4 ne mihten heo Rome-wal/  
nawiht onwalden; for mine londe & for mine feo  
147/20 mine eorles fulle to mine cneo.

i, i, in (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) governs both the accusative and the dative, according to the nature of the verb. Verbs of motion are generally followed by the accusative, whereas verbs denoting rest are followed by the dative.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Nennius wende ihane felde 322/14; and smat in anne  
muchele stane 98/9; mildelichen ferdan/ in enne  
bradne feld 217/3.

f. : þer Leire falled i þa sæ 60/3; he droh in ane hælue  
340/18.

n. : he halde þa milc in þat fur 51/11; seodðen Gurmund  
com in þis lond 84/2.

B. With the dative:

m. : I þon castle weoren monie men 28/20; i þissen hulle  
he lið 377/22.

f. : þe king ihere burh wonede 87/2; In are lutle stunde  
78/10 heo slowen fif hundred; þa weoren i þissere  
leode 205/3 lazen swiðe gode; Mine þrales i mine  
þeode 22/2 me suluen þretiað; Leouede Belin þe king/  
in alre blisse 258/22.

n. : Nes Brutus i þon londe 15/19 bute lutel ane wile;  
& scenden ha þe in ane scipe 135/10; woned in þisse  
londe 20/7; to 3ifuen us an ende/ i þine kine-londe  
266/4.



There are, however, a number of cases in which the verb implies motion, but is followed by the dative.<sup>1</sup> Such are:

m. : In þon castle he dude hende 26/23 six hundred of  
his cnihten; þe he leide in ane walle stream 121/6.

f. : heo to-~~gæðere~~ comen/ þere burh of Rome 393/15; at  
Cristes chiroche heo falled i þare sæ 106/10; In are  
swiðe stronge tur 290/18 heo duden þene king Elidur;  
& setten hit in þire hond 331/8.

n. : & lette heom worpen/ in ane deope watere 105/17.

inne (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found in vol. i. only with the dative. This may be due to the fact that all, or almost all, examples contain verbs denoting state or rest.<sup>2</sup>

f. : þer is iboren an luttel child/ inne þere leoden 389/9;  
& scal beo eower lauerd/ inne þissere leoden 155/14;  
& 3if he bi-læuen wolden/ inne mire þeoden 45/16.

n. : Ane dohter hefde AEstrild/ inne þon eorð-huse 102/2;  
Ah Cherin leouede longe/ inne þisse londe 295/9.

into (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) governs both the accusative and the dative, with no apparent regard as to the nature of the verb.<sup>3</sup>

1. The same thing happens with some other prepositions used with verbs of motion; all will therefore be dealt with more fully later; see pp. 92-93.
2. The only example with a verb of motion is: heo turneden to hauene/ inne þare <sup>4</sup>emese 316/7, but the dative after inne suggests that the whole phrase is qualifying hauene rather than depending on the verb turneden.
3. The same was in OE. Cf. Bosworth-Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, s.v. in-to: Ic gange into ðere byrig in urbem vado.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Brutus hine funde dead/ and into pane castle dude  
73/22; driuen heom in to enne hehne wude 426/15.

B. With the dative:

m. : Brutun and his kempan/ heo driuen in to pan castle  
71/16; and lette hine leden...in to ane castle 283/25.  
f. : and in to pere burh senden 286/23; & forð riht heo  
wenden in to pere Temese 333/16; and draf me to pisce  
londe/ in to pire leode 199/20.  
n. : heo comen in to pen lond 219/19; ferde into ane  
watere 93/18; farren þat he wolde/ into hisce londe  
169/15.

mid (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.). In OE in all its meanings mid was used with the accusative and the dative, although the use of the accusative seems to have been a characteristic of the Anglian dialect.<sup>1</sup> In *Lazamon*, beside numerous examples of its use with the dative, the following seem to be survivals of the use with the accusative:

m. : þe þider weren icumene/ mid Leir panne kinge 142/15;  
and mid þone kæisere spæc 309/16.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. *Beowulf*: þæt mīnne līc-haman/ mid mīnne gold-gyfan glēd fēðmic 2652.

2. Cf. *Be.* 518,5. Paulinus se B' sumre tide com mid ðone cyning & ðære cwene on ðone cynelican tun; *Be.* 492,16. hafa ðu mid ðone ilcan bisceop spræche & geþeahte hwæt to donne si; see Wülfing, J.E. *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, Bonn, 1894-1901, pp. 415 -16. These examples are from the OE *Bede*, which, though 'Alfredian', is of Anglian authorship and preserves many Anglian forms.

The following is somewhat uncertain:

f. : þus liððen to Lundene/...mid alle þe wurð-scipe 358/3.

Though þe may be an accusative, since the noun is treated as feminine in *Lazamon*, it seems more likely that it is to be taken as an uninflected form of the article, as it occupies an unstressed position in the line.

No occurrences of the asgn. þat have been noted with the preposition mid.<sup>1</sup>

B. With the dative:

m. : forð azein mid þan winde 11/7; þet þeo wimon was  
mid ane sune 13/2.

f. : þat lond is bi-urnan mid þære sæ 52/24; help mine  
lauerd & me/ mid alle mire mihten 30/16; 3e me scul-  
len usæren mid/ mid muchelere strengðe 330/9.

n. : & he mid þan folke 58/15 fleh ut of Troye.

ouer (OE prep. with acc. and dat.). The use of the case in OE depended on whether ofer was used with the idea of motion, in which case it governed the accusative, or with the idea of rest, when it governed the dative. But already in OE ofer was occasionally followed by the dative in contexts where the accusative

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1. There are, however, two cases of þat with nouns in the plural. They are: weoren þa hulles and þa dæles/ iwrizen mid þ dæden 221/12; þa weren grund ladene/ mid þat beste wepnen 47/18. Both are taken by Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 54, to be mistakes for þan. For other instances of þat with plural nouns see 28, footnote 3.

might have been expected;<sup>1</sup> this usage is continued in *Lazamon*.

A. With the accusative:

m. : & fram þan londe hælde/ ofer þane saltne strem  
261/5; ouer þene wal heo clumben 402/3.

f. : he ferde ouer þe Humbre 163/1; ouer al þas leode  
87/11.

B. With the dative:

m. : & euer heo drowen west & norð/ ouer þen lac of  
Silhūs & ouer þen lac of Philisteus 54/21-22;  
heo senden ouer al þan erde 116/22 to bizeten  
muchele ferde.

n. : wes eft iwurðen leod-king/ ouer þisse londe 290/1.

o, on (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) expresses local and temporal relations and governs both the accusative and the dative.

I. Expressing local relations. On governed the accusative when used with verbs of motion, but already in OE, the dative was occasionally used where the accusative might have been expected.<sup>2</sup>

A. With the accusative:

m. : þe king feol on þene rof 123/3; þat he on enne hul  
bi-com 70/10.

1. Cf. *Or.* 172, 19. þær he ofer þone munt faran sceolde (*Wulfing*, *op. cit.* p. 451) and *Or.* 208, 2. þa wes Donna seo ea swa swiþe oferfrozen, þæt hie ofer hie ofer þam ise faran mehten (*Wulfing*, *ibid.* p. 458).

2. Cf. *Wulfing*, *ibid.* p. 488.



f. : þu þenchest to setten o þin hond 313/10 al middel-  
ærdes lond.<sup>1</sup>

n. : he gurde Suard on þat hæfd 68/9.

B. With the dative:

m. : heo funden on þen crefte 12/24 carefule leoðes.

f. : (makede) þa oðer on are dune 112/25; Biðenc o ðire  
monschipe, bi-ðenc o ðire moder 214/7, 8; & wenden  
to þen walle/ on æuer alchere halue 251/5.

n. : þe king was ihoten Latin/ þe on þan londe wes 6/21;  
þa wes ich bliðe/ on mine quike liue 199/14.

II. Expressing temporal relations, on governed the accusative and the dative in OE with no apparent distinction in meaning.<sup>2</sup> I have noted only one example of its use in this function and this happens to be in the accusative:

m. : þat on þane daze amarwen 37/4 come his drihtliche folc.  
to (OE prep. with acc. dat. instr. and gen.)<sup>3</sup> governs the dative in all except the two following cases:

a) þat heo comen mid him/ to þane castle of Sparatin  
26/10;

b) 3irne we to þane kinge 40/8.

1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 35, takes this example as one of the uninflected possessive pronoun. The omission of -e may also be due to the following h.

2. Cf. Or.92,7. þa on ðæm ilcan dæge (Wulfing, op. cit. pp. 491-2) and Be.645,3. on ðone forman Easterdæg (Wulfing, ibid. p. 467).

3. Wulfing has found no examples with the accusative in Alfred.

These, again, like those examples with mid, may be genuine remains of the OE usage with the accusative;<sup>1</sup> in this case absence of examples with feminine and neuter nouns need not necessarily work against this assumption.

With the dative:

- m. : þe king to þan castle 27/4 forð mid his ferde;  
           & iwenden in to Kent/ to his ane castle 351/23.
- f. : þe he to þare sæ brouhte 5/17; 3ef Lauine his  
           douter/ Eneam to are brude 8/8; sende to þissere  
           þeoden 413/20; cumen to þire neode 231/4; þat heo  
           him solde helpen/ to muchelere neode 281/16.
- n. : To þan londe heo ferden 58/3; he ferde to þisse  
           londe 96/5.

þurh (OE prep. with acc. and dat.<sup>2</sup>) governs both the accusative and the dative in *Lazamon*.

A. With the accusative:

- m. : Hamun þurh þene wude flæh 399/12; ne þurh nenne læche-  
           craefte 325/12 ne mihte he hit habben; þurh þisne ilke  
           æðele mon 431/4 vnder-feng þis lond cristindom; ich  
           hit wulle tronsien/ þurh mine tirfulne godd 355/6;<sup>3</sup>  
           ladliche inipered/ niðfulne craft 435/23.

1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 12, lists both as examples of the asgm. used instead of the dsgm.

2. No examples of þurh + dative have been found by Wülfing in Alfred, but several in AElfric; see op. cit. p. 512.

3. Following this line we have: þurh mine lauerd Appolin 355/7 in which mine could be interpreted either as an acc. since it follows an acc. construction and is more common of the two forms (see p. 49) or as a dative. Cf. note 1 overleaf.

f. : þurh þa lue of þan feo 329/17 freond-scipe aleggen.

n. : þurh þat lond he ernde 423/21; þur out al þat ulke  
3er 156/6 heo duden al þus þer.

B. With the dative:

m. : nulle ich nauere mare/ þurh nane dome 413/1 heren  
into Rome.

f. : & ihitte his azene fader/ þurh ut þere broste 14/14.

No examples have been noted in which the determinative word is clearly in the dsgn.<sup>1</sup>

under (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found in vol. 1: only with the dative, but in contexts which would have required that case also in OE.

m. : vnder þan wude of Kalatere 202/3 þer heo heom imetten.

f. : vnder þissere blisse 104/13 þer comen muchele burstes.

uppe(n) (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) governs the accusative and the dative, according to whether it is used with the idea of motion or with the idea of rest. As already in OE,<sup>2</sup> direction is also sometimes expressed by the dative.

1. In the light of the example in note 2 on p. 82 (Be.518,5) and similar occurrences in OE, we may assume that mine in 355/24 is a dsgn., though the line in which it occurs immediately follows an accusative; al hit wes þurh me seolfne/ & þurh sele mine folke. Another possibility would be that mine here is an asgn. Cf. delest þine lond wið þine mæi 162/15.

2. Wulfing, op. cit. p. 654.

A. With the accusative:

m. : vppen bene helm he hine smat 321/1.

n. : he iwende uppe bat lond 261/9 æfter his iwille.

B. With the dative:

m. : uppen ben ilke stude 424/19 he lette a-reren ...<sup>1</sup>

f. : heolde mine peinen/ vppe here muchele lufe 34/5;

Brutus hit demdæ/ uppen ere dune 79/9.

n. : he heo makeda æððele/ uppen Uske þan wætere 256/5;

þat ich wullen swerien/ uppen mine sweorden 380/5.

wið (OE prep. with acc. dat. gen.)<sup>2</sup> As in OE, wið is found in *Lazamon* in same situations governing both the accusative and the dative.<sup>3</sup>

A. With the accusative:

m. : wið bene cnihte he spec þus 374/21;<sup>4</sup> sæhtnien me

wið bene kaisere 374/8; þe þu sulf quiddest wiþ

Claudien minne fader 419/6.

n. : Fehten wið bat Romanisce folc 235/17.

1. In the following example one would have expected an accusative: & a-stizen uppe ben hul 370/17. Beside the possibility of its being a dative, ben may also be an accusative minus e in front of the h, since we have seen this phonetic law operating in *Lazamon*; cf. pp. 25 and 38. The right interpretation of this form, as well as the case, depend ultimately on whether the verb is a durative or perfective one, in other words it depends on whether a- has any semantic function or not; it could, as in OE, be merely an intensifier.
2. Wülfing, op. cit. p. 601, adds also the instrumental.
3. cf. ibid. p. 615.
4. In the example: þeo fihten wið þone duke 273/10, it is difficult to decide whether þone is an accusative or a dative form. It may be a survival of OE asgm. ðone, as well as a new form þone (þon + e), which seems to be a genuine dative form in *Lazamon*; cf. p. 73.



E. With the dative:

- m. : to feahten wið þon keisere 235/21; sæhtnien me  
       wið þene keisere/ & wið þon Romanisce here 374/9.<sup>1</sup>
- n. : wið þon folke he spec þus 309/10.

Before going any further, it may be useful to point out three or four things that are worthy of comment.

Firstly, it should be noted that the majority of prepositions still govern the case or cases that they governed in OE in semantically similar situations.

Secondly, no examples have been found of prepositions either with the genitive or the instrumental, both of which seem to have given way to, or fallen together with, the dative in such circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that no prepositions which in OE governed the dative show any tendency to go over to a systematic government of the accusative proper. On the other hand, at least one of the prepositions which governed only the accusative in OE, viz. heond, governs also the dative in *Lazamon*. Similarly, verbs of motion, which as a rule governed the accusative in OE, show a marked tendency to use the dative as well as the accusative even in such cases in which OE used only the latter.

1. Here too we have an example of two different case forms in two successive lines; see p. 86, note 3 and p. 87, note 1.
2. But not when governed by verbs; at least not to such an extent.

It would therefore seem that the dative was coming into increased prominence as a 'prepositional' case. But as a criterion for gender it is important that the accusative is nevertheless still used after prepositions, since it has, or should have, distinctive forms for all genders.<sup>1</sup>

We must now consider those forms after prepositions which do not conform to the pattern of the OE system.

First, there are occurrences of the accusative forms in contexts where a dative might have been expected, such as the following:

- a) þane kmisere he eode neor 379/1 (the preposition neor governs the dative, like neh). It is, however, conceivable that eode as a verb of motion, as well as the comparative form neor also implying motion here, might have been responsible for the use of the accusative, in which case there are no occurrences of þane in vol. 1. used after prepositions instead of the dsqm.<sup>2</sup>

Examples with þone seem to belong here, but they have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 33, regards all the instances of the accusative forms with the prepositions mid and wið as examples of the use of the accusative instead of the dative. The examples are admittedly rare, but they can equally be regarded as survivals of the OE (Anglian) usage with the accusative, as -nn- in þanne 142/15 and minne 419/6 with the prepositions mid and wið respectively seem to indicate.

2. In non-prepositional use it occurs only once: wa wrðe auer þene smið 66/22.

3. See p. 73.

b) Different from the above given example of pane with the preposition neor, and from those with the prepositions mid and wið, are its occurrences in the following passages:

- inne pane fehte 10/9 his feon heo him binomen.
- heo hine flemden/ out of pane londe 14/24
- þ he heom wolde leaden/ out of pane leoden 16/11<sup>1</sup>
- He sende his sonde/ wide 3end pane londe 19/3
- clepæn hit Auren/ for pane mædene Abren 106/2
- beine of anne cunne 184/22
- and of anne kunne we beoð icumen 314/5

These examples<sup>2</sup> show that pane after prepositions is not always an indication either of the masculine gender or of the accusative case. All the nouns involved above are established on other evidence as neuter and, of the prepositions, of as governing only the dative.

c) þene hul makede þe king/ to strongge enne castle 371/9  
and: heo arærdæn enne burge/ a enne swiðe feire stude 408/19.

In both of these instances enne may be due to a real confusion of cases, since both the prepositions to and a could govern the accusative in OE. It could, perhaps, be a mistake for the dative,

1. The noun meant is probably lond as the B text has it: vt of þan londe. The spelling is obviously influenced by the verb leaden in the previous line.

2. There is one more instance: þat he mihte riden/ 3eond alle þanne þeoden 138/15. The noun þeode is normally treated as singular feminine, but occasionally also as plural. It is therefore difficult to say whether this example illustrates the possible use of þanne with feminine nouns in the singular or with nouns in the plural, as Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 33, suggests.

though this seems less likely in view of the fact that the regular dative form in non-prepositional use is ane, with only one exception when it appears as āne.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there are no occurrences of the dsgr. ene after prepositions either.

d) Brutus was on ane half 74/17. This is the only example of the use of the asgr. ane instead of the dsgr. are in volume one.<sup>2</sup> Rather than being a result of a confusion of cases or genders, ane may well be regarded here as form leading to one (as the B text often has it), a form which was later on to become common to all genders and cases.

Occasionally, apparently dative forms are used where the accusative would be expected.<sup>3</sup> Here, again, examples are not numerous, but I have noted the following:<sup>4</sup>

- a) in pon castle he dude hende 26/23  
six hundred of his cnihten.
- b) þe he leide in ane walle stream 121/6
- c) In are swiðe stronge tur 290/19  
heo duden þene king Elidur.
- d) & lette heom worpen  
in ane depe watere 105/17.

It will be noted that all these examples contain verbs of motion.

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1. Cf. p. 39.

2. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 32, cites three more examples: Hit was in ane nihte ii.388/10; buten ~~enes~~ an ane tides iii.175/5; þa was it in ane stunden iii.180/13.

3. Unlike Hoffmann, ibid. p. 32, I do not regard occurrences of mine as necessarily dative, since this is the more common of the two forms that are used in the asgm.; see p. 49.

4. Cf. Hoffmann, ibid. pp. 32 and 55.



But in all of them the dative rests on the notion of final position at rest after motion is over.

However, if we compare examples like:

þer Herigal smat AEuelin  
swide vuele a þane chin 348/2

And awat<sup>1</sup> hit a þan sweore 277/3

or

þer Leir falled ð þa æm 60/3

at Cristes chirche heo falled ð þare æm 106/10

we cannot help asking whether we are not also dealing with beginnings of a system in which the form þane = þan (and vice versa), i.e. accusative or dative masculine, as against -re, i.e. dative or accusative feminine, with þa and þat having double functions as indicated earlier.<sup>2</sup> Such a situation is not inconceivable, especially in a period of disintegration of both gender and case system. But such a situation would be possible only if the feeling for gender was stronger than that for case and this would be very difficult to prove.

In connection with dsgm/n. forms it should be pointed out that such a form is used twice with nouns otherwise firmly established as feminine.<sup>3</sup> They are:

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1. Read: smat.

2. See p. 71.

3. A third example, viz. he ferde to þan burzen 263/5 may be due to an occasional treatment of the noun burz as masculine; cf. p. 160.

a) he 3ef heo his stepmoder  
for þon lofe of his broþer 10/18

b) he aras to þan mid-nihte 324/3 (B þare)

Hoffmann,<sup>1</sup> while regarding both as examples of uninflected article + hiatus n,<sup>2</sup> alleges that these þan forms after prepositions no longer imply the dsgm/n. It could also, however, be argued that these in fact are early signs of uncertainty concerning the gender of the two nouns in question.

The third singular personal pronoun shows the syncretism of the accusative and the dative to a greater extent than any other criteria we have considered in this work. It has almost discarded the accusative after prepositions.<sup>3</sup> In only one instance is a preposition followed by the asgm. hine:

þe king wes gled of his kine  
& for þen cnihtes þet come mid hine 169/5

where it is obviously due to the rhyme. I have noted in this text no examples of either preposition + heo (i.e. asgf.) or preposition + hit (i.e. asgn.), but whether because they were not used at all, or because occasion did not arise for such use, I am not able to say.

1. op. cit. pp. 34, 36, 54.

2. Since there is no hiatus in the above cases, n may be ascribed to nunnation. But cf. to þan euening 30419.

3. But not in non-prepositional use; see pp. 12, 13 and 15.

Having examined cases in which, despite some confusions, a fairly consistent inflectional system is still maintained, we must now consider those cases in which this can no longer be said to exist. For, we find that certain uninflected forms are used with nouns after prepositions irrespective of case or gender.

These forms are sufficiently numerous not to be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the scribe; they show rather that uninflected forms were at the stage of coming to be regarded as permissible, at least in certain circumstances, though it is extremely difficult to say in which.

There are two kinds of these "uninflected" forms: on the one hand be and ba and on the other bat. We shall first examine the cases in which be, ba appear.

- a) Used with OE masculine nouns: for be wrake-dome 4/17; fal to be grunde 66/3; aduneward ba clude 81/19; ba munte bi-halues 240/18; all of be smal enden 250/12; be strengest of be tune 258/14; felled hine to be grunde 278/8; be wes mid Cassebellaune be king 317/4; to Cassibellaune ba kinge 331/4; bat hit to be mete com 345/23; at be latere cherre 356/22; sende to ba papen 432/8.
- b) Used with OE neuter nouns: after ba feourder zere he was dead 9/16; He makede an temple onfest be baðe 121/9.

The above examples could be explained as mistakes on the part of the scribe; for it would be enough for the scribe to omit to put the sign - (for n) above the vowel and so make the definite article look uninflected. But examples with feminine nouns after prepositions which governed only the dative,<sup>1</sup> strongly suggest that such an explanation is invalid, for in these cases scribal error is highly unlikely. The following should be regarded as genuinely uninflected forms:

c) Used with feminine nouns: bi be montaine of Azare

54/24; and et be oðer halus an hond-sex 276/9; Lud

king lette legge þane wal/ abuten be burh of Lundene

302/12; of al be worulde riche 308/6; he ferde ut

of Doure/ bi be sœ oure 366/6.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. The possibility for mistaking an asgf. ba, be for the uninflected form, arises only with prepositions which could govern the accusative as well as the dative. In such cases as: in ba teonfulle sœ/ torneden sœiles 195/19-20, much depends on the circumstances in which the preposition is used, i.e. whether it is used with the idea of motion or rest; even then one cannot be absolutely sure, since, as we have seen, the two cases were occasionally interchangeable. Similarly, one cannot be sure about the form be in: þa wes Julius bliðe/ for be tiðende leofue 366/4. According to the meaning of the preposition for here, the definite article should have been here in the dative. But whether it should have had a feminine form þere or neuter þen, we cannot say since this noun seems to be of two genders. Cf. also the discussion on p. 83 of: mid alle be wurd-scipe 358/3.
  2. The reason for which other appositional words appear occasionally in an uninflected form seem to be of a different order. Examples are: wið swiðe mucle an here 93/23; eærne after an oðer eorle 288/3; heo driuen hine of his ær(de) 293/17; þene wiseste mon of al his ærde 317/6; fliz ut of min æh-sene 131/12; ut of min æh senen 351/14. All the nouns with which they are associated begin with a vowel or h, and it would seem that the absence of inflection (which is mostly a question of -e) is due to a special phonetic situation.



The other uninflected form is bat, of which there are three examples after the preposition of:<sup>1</sup>

- a) Immetten heo faren Numbert  
þes kinges sonde of bat eard 61/5 (B þan)
- b) þa kinges aþward of bat eard 62/6
- c) and seide þat heo wolden  
halden hustinge  
of allen bat londen (B of alle þan folke) 223/5  
þe heore læwen leoueden.

A comparison with B readings might suggest that A was in error.<sup>2</sup> But it is difficult to accept such a possibility. As an essentially neuter form, one would not have expected the misuse of bat with a non-neuter noun, such as eard, which is treated in *Lazamon* as masculine and feminine. Nor would have one expected the misuse of an unambiguous accusative form after a preposition which governed only the dative.

Beside these, there are three more examples of bat after the preposition 3eond. They are:

- a) Heo letten lude clepian  
& æuðen 3eond bat ferde 75/14
- b) þa makede heo ane læ3e  
and læide 3eon bat leode 269/7
- c) þa wes þe muchele speche  
3end bat kineriche 171/16

Of the nouns with which it is used, ferde is otherwise almost always treated as feminine.<sup>3</sup> As has already been pointed

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1. For bat with mid and nouns in the plural, see p. 83, note 1.  
2. Cf. Madden, vol. iii, p. 451 and Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 54.  
3. Cf., however, p. 24.

out,<sup>1</sup> leode, beside being feminine, is occasionally treated as neuter, so that the above may be a legitimate use of the asgn. after the preposition 3eond. The same may be true of the third example, since cynerice was neuter in OE, although rice shows a change in gender in Lazamon, from neuter to feminine.

Whether we accept these examples or not, there is, in any case sufficient evidence to make it seem probable that these occurrences of bat are examples of its use with full demonstrative force, such as was common with that form later, irrespective of gender and case. Since, however, these occurrences are not numerous, we can say that Lazamon A merely shows first tentative beginnings of this important morphological change.

A special problem is presented by constructions of the type: preposition + noun + noun. In such circumstances we may distinguish two situations.

First, where we have two nouns with two distinct meanings, and the first noun is in the genitive. E.g.:

- m. of onnes monnes honde 67/2
- f. at here worldes ende 313/13
- n. for bisses londes monnen 283/10

In such cases the article or the accompanying word agrees

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1. Cf. p. 47.

usually with the noun in the genitive.<sup>1</sup>

Second, where two nouns are treated as a compound.<sup>2</sup>

bi bon sœ rime 274/24

bi ban sœ flode 46/16.

In these cases the genitive is either no longer felt as such or never was; in each case the article agrees with the second noun.

This being so, it is difficult to see why the following are not treated in the same way:

ferde bi here sœ brimme 272/16

uppen hare sœ stronde 323/12

The only possible explanation seems to be that in such cases the two nouns were not felt as compounds at all. We are not to suppose therefore that they offer evidence for a change of gender in brimme and stronde.

Sometimes even in the case of obvious compounds, the determinative word agrees with the first word. E.g.:

ne wið inne bon castel-buri 286/12 (m.-f.)

heo duden heo in quarterne  
in ane quale-huse 160/14 (f.-n.)

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1. Cf. to þisse londes kinge 316/11; þa kinges stiward 62/6; an eorles wif 299/23. There seem to be two possible explanations for these forms; the determinative words may belong to: a) the second noun; b) the first, in which case they are to be regarded as the uninflected genitive. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 27 and 34.

2. Cf. Hoffmann, ibid. p. 37.

Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> contends that in these and similar cases the article agrees with the word on which the stress falls.<sup>2</sup>

The material presented in this section enables us to say that of forms used after prepositions, only the adjectival ending -ne of the asgm. and -re of the dsgr. have real value in establishing the gender of a noun. All other forms, since their gender and case distinctions are to a lesser or greater extent blurred, can be accepted as evidence only if what they suggest about the gender of a noun is corroborated by other evidence.

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1. op. cit. p. 37.

2. Cf. pat zungo vif-mon 147/16; pat seil-clæð 194/7.



The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 108.

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form is he as in 1/4 etc.<sup>1</sup> In seven instances, however, the MS had the form heo referring to male persons or to their names; all these occurrences have been emended to he by the editor. They are: 3/60. 90/111. 115/294. 196/78. 259/99. 339/535. 466/138. There is therefore a possibility that the form heo may have been used with reference to some other common nouns which are elsewhere treated as masculine. One example where this may be the case occurs in the following:

A<sup>2</sup> nam up is croiz wel mildeliche: and smat þe point þar-on  
 þe staf wende into þe marbreston: ase it were in nesche sonde.  
 And þo heo was inne deope i-nouȝ: þe guode Man hine let stonde.  
 75/142.

It is possible that heo here is due to a confusion with croiz, which is feminine, although the second half of the line points rather to a confusion of the two forms, i.e. he and heo, since staf is otherwise always treated as masculine. Such occurrences of heo instead of he are not very numerous, so that we may, except in a very few cases, accept heo as an indication of feminine gender.

The form hee is recorded in 402/10, huy in 259/97 *1202 & 121*  
 and ȝe (emended to he) in 309/341.

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1. References are to page and line.

2. Read: and.

Nominative singular feminine.

The normal form is heo as in 1/6 etc. Occurrences of he instead of heo are more frequent than those of heo for he. Of those referring to females, the following have been noted: 2/50. 9/295. 39/196. 47/33. 51/162. 94/88. 101/5. 111/175. 181/5. 261/8. 264/105. 326/113. 352/249. 385/308. 399/228. 432/33. 435/122. 441/354, 355. 453/163. 457/29. 464/84, 87. 466/157. 477/541.

In addition, there are a few instances of he referring to some common nouns established as feminine; e.g. 314/521 (sonne), 314/508. 322/792. 366/55 (saule). In such cases we need not necessarily suppose a change in gender, but such forms may leave us uncertain about gender when they refer to nouns which occur less frequently than the above two nouns do.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The predominant form in both cases is it as in 7/204 etc.; the form hit as in 8/264 etc. occurs less frequently.

Of neuter nouns child is more often than not referred to by the masculine forms of the pronoun; e.g. he in 20/25. There are no examples of a feminine pronoun referring to it, partly because of the nature of the text and partly because the noun maide is normally used for a female child.

An other neuter noun which is often referred to by the non-neuter forms of the pronoun is bodi. But in all such

cases the noun seems to be personified and is used of a saint rather than his (or her) corpse; e.g.:

þis Men ladden þis holie bodi : with gret honor and pruyte  
To þe Abbeye of Schaftesburi : þare ase he lijth 3uyte 52/176

A nyzt at Matines, þis holie bodi : a-ros hire up allone 91/156

The noun best, normally treated as neuter, is sometimes referred to as he, but in all such cases it is used either of deouel (e.g. 372/192) or of a specific animal, as for instance of heort in 256/14.

The same thing happens in other cases as well, but there is no need to discuss them further, since they are not to be regarded as signs or results of a change in gender, but are occasional forms due to psychological associations.

#### Accusative singular masculine.

The regular form is him as in 2/51 etc., but the form hine (sometimes spelt as hyne) is found in the following: 66/446 (deth); 75/142 (staf); 235/578 (ston); 250/343 (staf); 300/16 (bull); 304/176 (toun); 306/238 (caumberleyn); 326/130 (Barnabe); 339/534 (son); 377/37 (mesager); 389/430 (Thomas); 417/507 (ring); 427/244 (man); 454/203 (curtel). In ten of these instances hine is in an inverted position, which suggests that this form has something to do more with the stress than with either the case or the gender, although it is significant that all the nouns it is associated with were masculine in OE and are treated as such



in this text. It is also noteworthy that not all of them are names of persons; in fact the majority are names of things.

The form hom has been recorded in 413/371 with reference to man; heom has been emended to him in 285/268.

Accusative singular feminine.

The common form is hire as in 18/597 etc.; occasionally the variant forms also appear, as for instance hure in 19/608 and ire in 80/84. Once the regularly feminine noun boo is referred to as hine (58/158); this is probably a mistake for hire, unless there has been a change in gender in this particular case.<sup>1</sup>

Another form of the asgf. in this text is as as in 14/464 etc.; this form, however, occasionally also refers to nouns in the plural, as for instance in 37/107 (bokes).

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

The common form to both genders is is (e.g. 1/5 m., 246/192 n.); it occurs more often than his (e.g. 5/147 m., 20/21 n.)

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The normal form is hire as in 1/7 etc.; forms with a variation in spelling are also occasionally found, as for instance hore (2/45), hure (39/192), ire (81/132).

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1. See p. 159.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The form common to both genders is him as in 1/4 (m.), but occurrences of him in reference to neuter nouns are rare, except for those referring to child. The following have been noted: 197/130 (fuyr), 61/253 (flesch), and 37/132 (schip).

On the basis of the above it may be said that the gender of a noun can still often be determined with a considerable amount of accuracy on the basis of the personal pronoun used to refer to it. With the reservations mentioned, a distinction is made between all the three genders in the nominative singular by he : heo : (h)it forms and in the accusative singular by him or hine : hire or as : (h)it forms. A distinction between masculine and neuter nouns as against feminine is made in the genitive singular by the form (h)is on the one hand and (h)ire on the other. The same distinction is made in the dative singular by him as against hire.

It will be observed that although the syncretism of the accusative and dative singular of masculine and feminine forms,<sup>1</sup> i.e. hine : him and heo : hire, has been completed (except for a few cases of hine still occurring), the third person singular pronoun as a criterion for gender has not been substantially affected.

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1. The two cases in question are occasionally still distinguishable in the neuter. Cf. 20/21-23:  
 þo þis child was i-bore : his freond nomen þer-to hede,  
 Huy leten hit do (sic) to Glastingburi:to norischi and to fede,  
 And to techen him his bileue al-so:his pater noster and crede.

## THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular masculine and feminine.

The common form for both genders is pe; e.g. pe Aumper-our 1/2; pe quene 1/13. po occurs occasionally with feminine nouns; e.g. po holie croyz 3/78. peo occurs with womman in 102/34.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The regular form is pat as in 10/308. Occasionally variant spellings are found, as for instance pet (472/359) and put (143/1275). With rare exceptions, pe is not used in the nominative or accusative with neuter nouns; cf. pe zate 200/13, pe seuenpe zer 158/1815.

With the noun zer, normally treated as neuter, the masculine form bene has been recorded in 190/27: pis was bene fourteope zer.<sup>1</sup>

Accusative singular masculine.

The normal form is bane or bene; e.g.: bene dez 1/18, bane deuel 5/131. Before an initial vowel in the following word, ben has been recorded twice: 56/95 and 144/1332. The form banne has been recorded in 360/42.

The form pe, however, displaces bane, bene quite often.

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1. See p. 170.



An examination of passages in which nouns mainly denoting male persons are preceded by be in the accusative singular, shows that the situations in which this occurs fall into two categories.<sup>1</sup> They are:

a) inversions; e.g.:

be Aungel þov schalt þare finde 6/173; be preost of þe church  
he fond þere 55/61; and be deuel doutede þe more 45/379.

b) appositions; e.g.:

And Iosie be quellare he was bitake 37/116; And bi-tok him Ypolite,  
be knyzt : In strong prisone to caste 341/35.

This, of course, does not mean that þane, þene are not met with in such situations as well. But it is necessary to call attention to situations in which there is a tendency to use be with masculine nouns in the accusative singular. We can thus avoid the error of assuming that be in the accusative can only signify feminine gender and of consequently attributing a change in gender to nouns in which it never occurred.

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form is þe as in 1/24 etc. Very rarely þeo occurs; e.g.: þeo 3wile 278/5.<sup>2</sup>

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1. It is also found in temporal phrases, especially if such a phrase occurs in the second half-line; e.g.: þus was þe holie Rode i-founde : þe bridde day of May 4/127. But in such cases it may be an old instrumental rather than the accusative of time.
  2. With the historically feminine noun nyzht, or rather its compounds, the asgm. form þane is occasionally found; e.g.: þane Wodnesnizt 138/1225, þene sonen nyzht 416/458. But here we may be dealing with a change in gender. See. pp. 163-164.



Genitive singular.

The genitive singular is no longer inflected and has one invariable form þe; e.g. þe kinges sone 47/31, þe sonne leom 85/82, þe childes deþe 183/88.

Dative singular.

The definite article in the dative singular is mostly þe for all three genders, whether the noun is or is not preceded by a preposition; e.g. : þe tormentores tolden þe kinge 187/75; And þouȝte to ðon þe rode schame 16/524; For no dede þat men deþ þe bodie 104/100; of þe pope 11/356; bi-fore þe quyene 2/41; in þe londe 2/32.

There are, however, a few cases where the dative has another form. This is especially the case with the phrase atþen-ende (e.g. 5/160) which is variously spelt.<sup>1</sup> With one solitary exception, that in þen eize 234/529, no other noun beginning with e or any other vowel is regularly preceded by this form. For that reason we should almost certainly regard these as relics of the OE usage in which both nouns, being masculine and neuter respectively, would have required that form, and not as examples of hiatus þen as suggested by Körner.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. atþon ende 77/223; atenende 310/381; at-þenende 376/308.

2. op. cit. p. 37.

Beside these, there are a few examples of pane occurring in contexts where either the accusative or the masculine form is out of place, or both; e.g.: at pane ende 199/51; of pane heie manne 272/60; bi pane side 231/427; to pane ymage 253/452; at pane forewarde 470/294. The prepositions at, bi and of govern only the dative in Lazamon and so does to, there being only two cases where it appears to govern the accusative.<sup>1</sup> Of the nouns, side is feminine in OE, Lazamon and also in this text; ymage is feminine in OF and appears to be so in this text too. Although feminine in OE, forewarde is neuter in Lazamon. The form pane in these cases is probably the longer variant of a generalized dative form, viz. pan + e, such as we have seen in Lazamon after some prepositions.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from the above that the definite article is of no value as a criterion for gender in certain cases, viz. the genitive and dative singular. At the same time it can still differentiate between the genders in certain other situations; in the nominative singular, between masculine and feminine on the one hand and neuter on the other; and in the accusative between all the three genders.

We have seen, however, that although the accusative be precedes feminine nouns in the majority of instances, it is

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1. See p. 85.

2. See p. 91.

also found sometimes with masculine and neuter nouns; as a criterion for gender it has therefore little value; at best it must be treated with utmost caution.

Another problem is presented by the form pat. For beside its use as the neuter form of the definite article in the nominative and accusative singular, it is used without distinction of gender in certain other situations.

In the first place, pat is used in the nominative, accusative and dative singular with masculine and feminine nouns as a deictic. E.g.:

m.: a) pat wrechche gost quakede po 236/604.

b) for-to leden to helle pat sori gost 235/583.

c) 3ware-of seruest pou pat heize Man 378/60.

f.: Ake ech of heom a-drad was sore : po he pat creolz  
i-seiz 18/590.

The example with the noun man in 378/60 clearly shows that in such cases we are not necessarily dealing with a change in gender and so do the nouns gost and creolz which are on other evidence firmly established as masculine and feminine respectively.

The form pat is also used regardless of gender after prepositions. Since the normal dative form in such situations is pe, it is highly probable that pat in such cases is to be regarded as having demonstrative force. E.g.:

a) And leide op-on pat dede man 3/84

b) of pat womman 107/46

c) of pat tree 10/306.



The only possibility of its not being demonstrative arises with neuter nouns and those prepositions which, historically speaking, could govern the accusative. In such cases it is difficult to determine whether þat is to be regarded as the definite article or the demonstrative pronoun since the two are formally identical.

In the combination with ilke, þat is used with all nouns, irrespective of case and gender. It is especially frequent in temporal phrases, such as: þat ilke day 37/123; þat ilke nyght 470/302; þat ilke stounde 290/92; þat ilke ȝer 117/373. In these instances þat ilke seems to be a sort of demonstrative, meaning something like "that same", but whether there is a difference between these cases and those in which the definite article þe is contracted with ilke (e.g.: þulke time 2/49; þulke stounde 4/118; to þulke treo 7/217), I am unable to say.

þat is also used before o, on and opur, regardless of case and gender. E.g.: þat o seriaunt 46/19; þat o ȝweol 250/360; þat on (king) 346/43; þat on (þing) 212/422; þat opur (woman) 276/169; þat opur (þing) 212/224 - all these in the nominative. In the accusative: þat o rode 3/83; þat on (son) 399/23; þat opur (rode) 3/83. After the prepositions: in þat opur stude 233/502; on þat on half 98/223; in þat opere ȝere 230/374.<sup>1</sup>

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1. In such cases þat may have been used to prevent hiatus, but it may also be the demonstrative proper, which seems to be the case especially in such pairs as: þat on ... þat opur (e.g. 322/5). It should be pointed out that þat does not invariably precede these words; e.g.: þe o partie 123/577; þe on (son) 5/150; of þe on ende 45/1.



In seeking to establish grammatical gender, therefore, all occurrences of bat in such situations are to be disregarded as of no value, since they do not prove anything as regards gender.

## THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

### Nominative singular.

The rule for the indefinite article in the nominative singular is that a is used before consonants and an before vowels or h, irrespective of gender; e.g.: a man 9/297, an aungel 6/189, an holi man 19/602. A is occasionally written together with a noun; e.g.: Aman 7/198, astok 34/31, apiler 50/108.

### Accusative singular masculine.

The form of the indefinite article in the accusative depends on its context; when not accompanied by an adjective it is ane; e.g.: ane man 34/32, ane appel 7/217, ane fot 39/180. Only occasionally is this form used when there is an intervening adjective; e.g.: huy senden him ane holie man 45/9.

When the noun is qualified by an adjective (or adjectives), the indefinite article is normally a; e.g.: (bringue) a ded jong man 3/82; a grene wei pov schalt wiende 6/179; a strong wal he liet a-rere 8/259. This form is also used in phrases of the type: many a man (e.g. 39/177). It also occurs in temporal phrases, such as: puderward wende aday 19/602; in fact, in such circumstances

a is more frequent than ane (e.g. so þat huy comen ane day 299/770), probably due to the analogy of a 3er (e.g. þare-inne he lay al a 3er 30/42).<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, occurrences of a with asg. masculine nouns when these are not accompanied by an adjective are very rare; of nouns firmly established as masculine, only the following two have been noted in the first 53 pages: a fot of þat stude gon 34/28 and: he smot a knijf 49/78.

The form anne occurs seven times: 37/100. 40/221. 104/109. 262/58 (fot); 281/135 (fellowe); 426/219 (man); 454/202 (cuyrtel).<sup>2</sup> The form nanne has been recorded in the following: 6/177. 108/54 (wei); 249/328 (boru3); 265/147 (man); 452/113 (freond).<sup>3</sup>

#### Accusative singular feminine.

Ane and a are used in the same way with feminine nouns as with masculine, but there seem to be more examples of a when the noun is unaccompanied by an adjective. Some of them appear to be due to inversion, as for instance: A croiz he heold on honde 15/481; A rode he hadde in is hous 17/548.

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1. In the first 53 pages there are 6 occurrences of asg. a day and none of ane day.
  2. The form anine occurs in 41/255; this may be a misspelling of anne as the editor suggests, but it could also be a form deriving from OE ænigne. The example reads: þat ho-so an-hengue anine man : he scholde habbe al is guod.
  3. In 453/143 nanne is used with the noun help which in OE was feminine and masculine.

Although the form ane is not usually affected by the following sound, there are a few examples where it appears as an before a vowel or h; e.g.: After pi fourme ichulle pe make: An ymage, briȝt and schene 96/158; wurth an hawe 35/52.<sup>1</sup>

#### Accusative singular neuter.

The regular form is a, whether the noun is accompanied by an adjective (or adjectives) or not; e.g.: a child 5/160; a swete word 46/26; a luyte zong child 7/209. If the following word begins with a vowel, the indefinite article may appear as an; e.g.: an oȝer in 19/607. The form ane has been noted only in the following: to fiȝte aȝe zer al 171/2264; pe Aumperor let nimen ane spere 179/21; (leneth me) ane hondret quarters of pat corn 244/130. Otherwise it does not seem to have been used with nouns felt as neuter.<sup>2</sup>

#### Genitive singular.

The genitive appears to have only one form, i.e. ane; e.g.: ane mannes soule 314/505.

#### Dative singular.

The most frequent form with masculines and feminines and the only one allowed with neuters is a or an, depending on

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1. The same thing happens occasionally also in the asgm.; e.g.: pe Aumperour after pis Maide sende an oȝer dai 98/197.

2. The example with spere may indicate that the noun was, occasionally at least, masculine as in the Brut; cf. p. 171.



whether or not it is followed by a vowel or h; e.g.: in a day 18/597; in a luyte stounde 11/347; ouer a great fuyr 12/373; to an herre Iustice 44/360; in an opur religion 52/192; in an old hous 18/374.

Less frequently, but significantly, the form ane is used with nouns felt as non-neuter;<sup>1</sup> e.g.: ouer ane olde dicke 9/287; ouer ane hei3e brugge 38/156; to ane hebene manne 101/21; bisides ane hauene 139/1150. This form with the originally masculine nouns is clearly a descendant of the dsgm. ane; the examples with feminine nouns show that the asgf. (or the dsgm.) ane was extended into the dsgf. replacing the earlier are. In the first two examples above ane may have been felt as an accusative form after the preposition ouer, but this would be difficult to establish.

## THE NUMERAL

### Nominative singular.

The numeral is usually o before consonants and on before vowels and h, without any distinction in gender; e.g.: o god 8/258; on Almizti god 3/68.<sup>2</sup>

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1. With the possible exception of: with inne ane fewe 3eres 11/332, ane is not used with neuter nouns. Cf. in a fewe 3er 7/227.

2. When used by itself, on generally means 'one person'. Cf. po seide on, pat hiet Iudas 1/11, or merely 'one'; e.g.: in pe on and twentipe 3ere 53/221.



Accusative singular.

In the accusative singular there is a tendency to use one with non-neuter nouns (e.g. one stounde 14/466) and o with nouns felt as neuter (e.g. o word 216/574). I have noted only two instances of a neuter noun being preceded by one: 4/115 (schrine) and 273/77 (hole).<sup>1</sup> But there are cases of masculine or feminine nouns being preceded by o in the accusative; e.g.: o sone 13/417; o fot 93/47; pat o rode 3/83.

As in the nominative singular, on is used before vowels and h, irrespective of gender; e.g.: on aunture 59/186.

In most situations the forms o, on, one are undoubtedly numerals, as in:

þare bi-neope beoth seoue firmamenz : þat euerech of heom, i-wis  
One steorre hath with-oute mo : þat planete i-cleoped is  
311/418.

But in some other situations it appears that forms with a and o are freely interchangeable; e.g.: ane stounde 71/18 - one stounde 14/466, a fot - o fot 93/47.

Dative singular.

What has been said about the accusative singular equally applies to the dative.

1. When not preceding a noun, one may mean 'alone'. Cf. for þou one wuyrþe were 15/501; þat þou þat tresor of al þe world : al one oþon þe þou bere 16/502. It can also mean 'only' as in: ase 3e mouwen onne þenche 64/359 or 'entirely' as in: þe king wes one glad 52/201.

The indefinite article and the numeral, therefore, are still of some value when establishing gender. For besides the asgm. form anne, the asg. and dsg. form ane, one used with a noun strongly suggest that the noun in question is not felt as neuter.

#### DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

The demonstrative pronoun, with very rare exceptions, is reduced to one form only, viz. pis, whatever case or gender.

E.g.:

nsg.: pis Aumperour 12/370; pis false quene 31/51; pis treo 8/263.

asg.: pis dede man 4/109; pis bok 28/66; pis holie blod 17/567.

gsg.: al pis world guod 26/9.

dsg.: of pis bischop 71/7; to pis world 15/499; mid pis word 15/487.

Occasionally variant spellings are to be found, as for instance: pes 16/533, peos 144/1316, but they do not seem to be in any way connected with gender.

A few survivals of the asgm. form in -ne have been recorded. They are: pesne : 46/13. 179/45. 185/28. 212/428. 357/72. 380/145. 404/54; pisne : 461/172. 482/72; pusne : 36/79; peosne : 341/31. 361/79. 417/511 - all except the last one (ring) being used with nouns denoting male persons.

Even less frequent is the form pusse, which is found in the dative (e.g. at pusse gate 15/483; in pusse half 221/57),

and in the genitive (e.g. in *pusse bestes mouth* 278/9) apparently regardless of gender.

As a criterion for gender, therefore, the demonstrative pronoun is no longer of any value.

### POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The form of the possessive pronoun depends on the initial sound of the following word; thus the forms mi, bi are used before consonants and the forms min, bin before vowels and h, irrespective of case or gender. E.g.:

nsg. : *mi fader* 1/16; *bi moder* 6/181; *bi lijf* 62/306.

asg. : *mi dez* 6/168; *mi strenche* 4/103; *bin heued* 6/194.

dsg. : with *bi sone* 14/448; *after mi lore* 12/379; *to bin ho* 68/40.

There is, however, a tendency to use the forms mine, bine with historically masculine and feminine nouns in the accusative singular, as for instance in: *mine wei* 41/239; *mine soule* 42/275. But the short forms, viz. mi, bi occur more often even with such nouns.

These longer forms are to be found also in the dative singular, usually with historically masculine and feminine nouns (e.g. of *bine weie* 42/283, *to mine churche* 41/237), although there seem to be at least a few examples of neuter nouns being preceded by that form (e.g. of *mine guode* 12/366, in *bine schipe*



237/633). This is not surprising, since this form is clearly a survival of the dsgm/n. mine, which has been extended also to the dsgr. The form is, of course, identical with the asgr. mine and may therefore be an extension of that form into the dsgr.

The form pine occurs also in the genitive singular; e.g.: for pine fader sunnes 7/214.

The form minne (pinne) < OE asgm. minne is extremely rare; it has been recorded in: 128/775 (pinne dai), 327/155 (minne mete), and 333/353 (minne owene mouth).

It is clear from the above that the form mine or pine in the accusative singular can in most cases be taken as evidence of non-neuter gender.

#### ADJECTIVES

Except for one example of: alne wey 479/584, the adjective has either the ending -e or no ending at all. Thus it no longer indicates the gender of a noun, and is therefore without relevance to our purposes.



The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester

MS. British Museum Cotton Caligula A xi.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS<sup>1</sup>Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form of the nsgm. is he, as in 95 etc.<sup>2</sup>

A form a is recorded in 3826:

King Arthure azen þe brest . his felawe verst ahitte.  
Azen þe brust þat a vul . & ne miȝte no leng sitte.

As pointed out by the editor,<sup>3</sup> the form here in 10551 must be regarded as an error for he. No occurrences of heo for he with reference to persons have been noted in this text; we may assume, therefore, that the form heo is unequivocally a feminine form.

Nominative singular feminine.

The normal form is heo, as in 305 etc. Referring to female persons, the form he is recorded nine times: 768. 769. 4540. 5431. 6865. 8952. 9248. 11426. 11447. We may therefore expect to find occurrences of he instead of heo also with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things. This,

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1. A full analysis of the accidence in the Chronicle can be found in Flexionsverhältnisse bei Robert von Gloucester, by Felix Pabst in Anglia, vol. xiii (1890-91), pp. 202-301. The discussion to follow is therefore bound to be repetitive in some respects. In spite of this, it is felt that a survey of forms occurring in the Chronicle is needed here; firstly - to consider these forms in relation to gender; secondly - to show the position of criteria for gender in this text in relation to those in the two earlier ones.

2. References are to line.

3. See his Glossary, s.v. here.

in fact, seems to be the case in 1931, where he is used of croiz and also in 11096, where it refers to brugge (both nouns are normally treated as feminine in the Legendary). Two more examples of this usage of he are possibly to be found in 1471, 1472, since the noun hauene (to which they seem to refer) was feminine in OE and is treated as such in Lazamon. The examples are:

þe hauene þer he was aslawe. after haym is name iwis.  
 Haymtone was icluped. as he ȝut icluped is.  
 Vor souphamtone he is icluped. & worþ euere mo.

If, on the other hand, the above occurrences of he may be interpreted as referring to Haymtone, the form he is then to be regarded as nsgm. in these two cases, since the noun toun is normally treated as masculine in this text, as it is in the Brut and the Legendary.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these, a form so occurs <sup>? seventeen</sup> twelve times: 635. 720. 737. 829. 2514. 2516. 4185. 86. 4538. 5433. 5476 and 5477. The following forms have also been recorded: ze in 3349, sso in 615 and sse in 709.

Add. 4540, 48  
 4894, 54  
 5435.

#### Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

Neuter nouns are referred to by hit or it in both cases; e.g.: hit 241, it 334.

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1. Körner, op. cit. pp. 39-41, takes these to refer to hauene and attributes a change in gender to the meaning of the word itself, since - according to him - 'feste Bauwerke' came to be treated as masculine, regardless of the original gender of nouns denoting them.

Accusative singular masculine.

The prevalent form is him, as in 235 etc. Spelt as im it occurs in 2330. 2961. 4090. 9460. Two more forms are recorded; the form hin in 1944 and the form in in 6363.

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form is hire, as in 310 etc. It is also found spelt as ire (e.g. 2016) and is recorded twice as ir: 10119 and 11804.

The form is is also found and occurs eleven times; occasionally it is spelt together with the verb, as for instance in: Ich 3ivis be to pi wif 282. It is noteworthy that, except for this example, in which the form is refers to the noun dozter, and the one in 8335, where it refers to hen, in all other instances the form is is used with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things or abstracts. The examples are: 1608 (dede), 1616 (soule), 1924 (church), 2211 (hond), 4055,56 (aumperye of Rome), 6596 (croune), 7778 (forewarde) and 10506 (chartre).

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Both the form his and its variant is are used to refer to masculine nouns; e.g. his 114, is 266. Occurrences of the

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1. This form is also occurs in the plural; e.g. vor he wan ek to pis londe/ be six yles pat bep aboute & heoldis al an honde 4614.



gsgn. are extremely rare, however. The form is is recorded in 6576:

þat water dude uorþ is kunde . & wax euere faste.

It occurs also in 1212:

þo þis feste ȝare was . þat folk verst in is wise.  
To þor godes as hi wolde . dude þor sacrefice.

In this case, however, the use of the form is may be due to a feeling of animateness about folk.

#### Genitive and dative singular.feminine.

The form common to both cases is hire; e.g. 306 (g.), 309 (d.). In the genitive the variant forms also occur, viz. ire in 630 etc., ir in 10223. 11803, hir in 6922, here in 311 and 732. In the dative the form her is recorded in 565.

#### Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The normal form referring to masculine nouns is him, as in 214 etc. The variant form im also occurs, e.g. 3153. After the preposition bi, the form hum has been noted in 8629; with the preposition mid occurs hin in 2653.<sup>1</sup>

Occurrences of the dative form of the personal pronoun with reference to neuter nouns are seldom to be found. Apart

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1. This may be a late survival of the asgm. hine after this preposition, though at this stage it can only be regarded as an archaism both in form and function.

from those referring to the noun child,<sup>1</sup> only the following have been noted:

Vor þer nas in al þe world . suerd him illiche.

Vor þer non wip him iwoned . þat euere keueri miȝte. 1141-42.

It is highly likely, however, that the occurrences of him here are due to the personification of suerd, rather than to being part of the paradigm of hit.<sup>2</sup>

As can be seen from the foregoing, a distinction between genders is fully maintained only in the accusative singular, by the forms (h)im, hin : (h)ir(e), is : (h)it for masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. Any such distinction is somewhat obscured in the nominative singular, owing to a number of occurrences of the originally masculine form he for the feminine heo; but the distinction is clearly marked between feminine and neuter by the form heo (as well as by 30, 3e, sso and sse) on the one hand and (h)it on the other. Feminine gender is also distinguished from the masculine in the genitive and dative singular by the form (h)ir(e) as against (h)is and (h)im respectively.

1. In this text too, the noun child is used only to denote a male child, and is frequently referred to by he. Therefore we may regard occurrences of the dsq. him with reference to that noun as belonging to he rather than to hit.
2. It should be pointed out that (h)it has not yet replaced him after prepositions when referring to neuter nouns or nouns denoting things, irrespective of their original gender. In such situations the place of the pronoun is taken by the forms her and þer; e.g.: Corineus herwip harde smot (ax) 390; moni wes þe gode bodi. þat he þerwip slou (suerd) 9455.



Once again, the gsg. (h)is and dsq. (h)im are hardly ever used to refer to neuter nouns. This restriction in the use of these two forms for masculine only suggests that a separation was being brought about of animates from inanimates, especially since these forms are very rarely used even with reference to masculine nouns denoting things. Where they do occur, however, the nouns to which they refer, like: castel, stude of Rome, toun, sterre and deb can equally be regarded as personifications.

#### THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

##### Nominative singular masculine and feminine.

The common form for both genders is pe; e.g.: pe clerc 234, pe quene 606. Occasionally it is shortened to p before the vowel e and written together with the noun beginning with it; e.g. perl 6790.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Occurrences of pat with historically m. or f. nouns are comparatively rare. Only the following have been noted: brod (OE f.) 1595, conseil (OF m.) 2188, gost (OE m.) 3055, song (OE m.) 3940, 5685, ssrewe (OE m.) 4239, weie (OE m.) 5574, poer (OF f.) 5972, 11712, knif (OE m.) 6362, flod (OE m. n.) 8607, somer (OE m.) 10960. In the absence of other evidence we cannot be certain whether or not a change in gender has taken place in some of these nouns. In the case of knif and weie, however, other evidence shows that they are still masculine, so that the form pat with them can be explained as a deictic. So can the examples with gost and ssrewe. It should be noted, however, that even in this function pat is rather infrequent with nouns denoting persons, not counting, of course, occurrences with maide and wif, which, in any case, were grammatically neuter in OE. It would appear therefore that the form pat with nouns/

Nominative singular neuter.

In the overwhelming majority of instances, historically neuter nouns are preceded by the neuter form of the article. So þat occurs 109 times (e.g. 24), þet 22 times (e.g. 23), þut 9 times (e.g. 5354), as against 45 occurrences of þe (e.g. 57).<sup>1</sup>

Accusative singular masculine.

The most common form of the definite article in the asgm. is þe. It occurs 171 times (e.g. 59). The form þen occurs 100 times (e.g. 419) and of its variants the following have been recorded: þun 17 times (e.g. 2690), þan 6 times (e.g. 2150) and þon once in 2184. A descendant of OE þame is found 3 times as þene in 299, 395 and 6121.<sup>2</sup>

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nouns may signify: a) the neuter gender; b) inanimateness of things denoted by nouns historically masculine or feminine; c) a demonstrative force. Because of the last two functions and in spite of the first, we cannot accept þat here, any more than we could in the Legendary, as a reliable criterion for neuter gender.

1. Cf. footnote 2 overleaf.

2. There are two instances of þat with nouns denoting male persons; traytour 5624 and Harald 7441. In addition, five instances of þat with historically masculine nouns have also been noted: deol 304, kinedom 1857, morter 2766, knif 7435 and þat ulke time 7198. These, however, may be regarded as examples of the demonstrative þat, as is apparent in the case of nouns denoting persons. In the last example, þat may also have been used to avoid hiatus; cf. þat on (dragon) 3230. It also occurs with a noun of obscure origin, viz. 'skull': þut scolle 4237.



Accusative singular feminine.

The normal form is pe as in 850.<sup>1</sup>

Accusative singular neuter.

The most frequent asgn. form is bat, which has been recorded 156 times (e.g. 45). The form but occurs 16 times (e.g. 5077) and the form bet once in 5984.<sup>2</sup> The form pe, however, occurs only 30 times with originally neuter nouns, as for instance in 262.<sup>3</sup>

Genitive singular.

The invariable form in the genitive singular is pe: e.g.: pe kinges wille 1227; pe quene fader 608; pe jered ende 768.

1. As with masculine nouns, occurrences of bat with feminine nouns are also infrequent. Only the following have been noted with feminine nouns of French origin: pes 1857, compaynie 2127 and poer 4123. - There are two examples of the asgm. bun, ben preceding originally feminine nouns: bun ouer hond 1840, ben world 2429. Since, however, there are reasons to suppose a change in gender, these cases will be dealt with later. See pp. 162-63, 167-8.
2. Since it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the neuter definite article from the demonstrative bat, it is quite possible that a number of the above occurrences of bat are not examples of the definite article at all. Whether we are dealing with the article or not, can be deduced only from the meaning of the noun, as for instance in: & smot him anowarde bat heued 397, where bat is obviously used in its function of the definite article.
3. With the originally neuter noun gospel ben occurs in 1529, but it is probably due to a change in gender; see p. 170.

Dative singular.

The normal form in the dative singular for all three genders is the indeclinable þe; e.g.: þe king he sende word agen 1229; he sende þe quene is doȝterword 826. The dative is seldom found in non-prepositional use, since most of its functions came to be expressed by prepositional phrases.

After prepositions, however, all distinctions between the accusative and the dative have been obliterated, and the definite article in such situations is virtually reduced to the form þe; e.g.: toward þe king 553; aboue þe se 523; in to þe lond 246. Before the vowel e, þe is sometimes shortened to þ and written together with the noun; e.g.: wiþ þemperour 1314.

The form þen is also found occasionally preceding nouns which begin with a vowel, regardless of the original gender of such nouns. For instance; to þen erþe 673 (but compare: vp of þe erþe 165); fram þen on se to þen oþer 2173. Both erþe and se were feminine in OE and are treated as such in the Brut and the Legendary. Sometimes, however, it appears as if this form is not entirely due to phonetic circumstances, but may also have something to do with the original gender of the noun; e.g.: at þen ende (OE m.) 229, out of þen yre (OE n.) 2954. In such cases þen may be a genuine survival of the dsgm/n. form, but - in view of the occurrences of this form with feminine nouns - it can hardly be regarded as having either gender or case value/



value<sup>1</sup> when used after prepositions.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, the definite article shows almost complete syncretism of the nominative, genitive and dative singular forms. With the exception of the n/asgn. pat, which - it should be remembered - need not necessarily be the definite article at all, the definite article is reduced to a single form, the indeclinable he, and as such, naturally carries no information regarding gender.

As for the form pat in the nominative and accusative singular, it may be said that in most instances it does indicate the neuter gender, although as a criterion for gender it is not altogether trustworthy because of its use as a deictic. The scarcity of examples in which pat occurs with nouns denoting persons, however, seems to point out to a differentiation of another kind, a differentiation in terms of animateness as against inanimateness, rather than 'grammatical' masculine/feminine as against neuter.<sup>3</sup>

The only form of the definite article which is still gender-distinctive is therefore the asgm. pen and its variants.

1. This becomes obvious especially in such cases where the ending -n is separated from the article and joined to the noun, as for instance: *atte nende* 763.
2. The form pat is also found in the dative singular, but whether referring to masculines, feminines or neuters, it can clearly be regarded only as a deictic in such situations (e.g. *Of pat daye* 2651), unless it happens to precede a word beginning with a vowel, in which case it may have been used to prevent hiatus; e.g.: *helpeþ pere pat oþer (broþer)* 7017; *azen pat op* 9305.
3. For a similar tendency in the personal pronoun, see p. 125.

## THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

The indefinite article is normally a before consonants, an before vowels and h, irrespective of case or gender. E.g.:  
vor þe maistrie nis noȝt a kinges 1331; an ernes nest 3670; an  
hei man 213.

It has been noted, however, both by the editor<sup>1</sup> and Pabst<sup>2</sup> that an occurs sometimes before consonants. An examination of such instances shows that as a rule an is to be found in the accusative and dative singular and only occasionally in the genitive (e.g. an kinges doȝter 2727).<sup>3</sup> It also shows that in 99 instances the form an is used in such situations with historically masculine or feminine nouns (regardless of their origin), and only 3 times with neuter nouns. For instance:  
& rerde þer an castel (OE m.) 2501; þer þou ssalt finde an place (OF f.) 331; bi an laddre (OE f.) 6830.

With neuter nouns, only the following have been noted:

a) An son he hadde, an wis child 8854.

b) of an gode londe 1204.

c) ouer an long dale 7466.

An with the noun child is probably due to an influence of an son, to which it is used in apposition. In any case, the noun child

1. See the Glossary to the Chronicle, s.v. an.

2. op. cit. p. 297.

3. In the nominative singular an has been noted only in: an naked man 11662.



is often treated as masculine, so that an with it could not have been strongly felt as inappropriate, or even at all so. Both examples of an after prepositions are apparently late survivals of the dsgr. ane.

It is apparent from the foregoing that the form an in the accusative and dative singular is a descendant of the asgm. anne, asgf. ane and dsgr/n. ane. Since - as we have seen in the Legendary - the dsgr. are became ane, probably on the analogy of asgf. ane, the form an is then legitimately used in the Chronicle for all three genders in the dative. In the accusative, however, it may still have been felt as non-neuter. Nevertheless, as a criterion for gender it has not much value, since, in the first place, it does not tell us whether the noun it precedes is masculine or feminine. Secondly, it must have declined in significance as an indication of gender and of case, since it came to be used regularly before vowels and h, no matter what gender or case. It would seem, therefore, that although the form an is found in the accusative singular exclusively with masculine or feminine nouns, it cannot be regarded as anything more than a vestige of once fully inflected asgm. and asgf. forms, viz. anne and ane respectively.

Preceding a noun, the asgm. anne has been recorded only once: anne stroc 4576.<sup>1</sup> The asgf. ane is found with an OE f. noun in: ane wounde 373, and with an OF f. noun in: ane bataille 5312.

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1. The form anne has also been noted in: pen anne (son) 4601, and in: smot anne (stroc) 8266. - Two examples of nanne are to be found in: nanne fader 2723, nanne red 9121.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

The demonstrative pronoun, having been reduced to practically one form, viz. pis, has entirely ceased to mark gender distinctions. E.g.:

nsg.: pis king 99; pis gode Cordeille 865; pis lond 1292.

asg.: pis geant 522.

gsg.: pis oldemannes lond 755.

dsg.: after pis king 901; to pis boce 138; to pis londe 850.

There are only a few survivals of the dative singular form, but with no significance for gender; e.g.: in pise boc 56, in pise lond 1694; of pisse londe 1748; of pisse brutaine 3733.

In addition to pis, the form pes is also found in a few cases. The examples are: nsg.: pes king 9335; pes tydinge 4295; asg.: pes veiage 4112 and after prepositions: in pes cas 8539; poru pes signe 1902.

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

The generalized forms for all genders and cases are min, bin before vowels and h, mi, bi before consonants; e.g.: (ido) min olde lif 699; min handax vp a drawe 584; part abbe of mi kinedom 723.

There are, however, a few instances of the form min, bin before consonants. Eleven of these occur in the accusative

singular: *þin broþer* 6930; *min dep* 6737; *þin del (doel)* 4287; *þin grace & þin love* 6307; *min mede* 6366; *þin mede* 6369; *þin seruage* 3995; *min soule* 9772; *min wille* 10290. In the dative, however, min and þin are found with nouns of all three genders, but there are only twelve such examples; e.g.: *to þin cruel luperhele* (OE m.) 3992; *in þin siȝt* (OE f.) 817; *vpe min londe* (OE n.) 425. There is also one example in the genitive singular: *þin louerdes cloþes* 6573.

The form þine occurs even more rarely; it is found once in the asg.: *þine cause* 10352, and five times after prepositions: *in þine londe* 943; *in þine seruise* 2494; *of þine reverye* 3991; *of þine wite brede* 4917; *in þine wayre wede* 4918.

In spite of the fact that these longer forms occur in the asg. exclusively with historically m. and f. nouns, testifying thereby to a feeling for gender in general, they are of little use for our purposes since they do not distinguish between these two genders.

#### ADJECTIVES

Except for a single occurrence of the inflected asgm. form in: alne winter 1364, and three instances of the dsgr. -re form in: *goderhele* 7570, *wroperhele* 3420 and 7282, the adjective is either uninflected or has the ending -e.<sup>1</sup> Thus the adjective has ceased to mark gender distinctions and as such no longer has any value for our purposes.

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1. For the form haluendel, which survives in 100, 6037 and 8025, see p. 65, footnote 2.

## Part II

### Results



The material contained in the Glossary illustrates the history of individual nouns so far as gender is concerned and also provides a basis on which to follow the history of grammatical gender as it appears in the language of the three texts under examination.

In seeking to establish the position of gender in any early Middle English text it seems desirable to separate the native element from the foreign in order to get as clear a picture as possible of what can be regarded as a continuation of the OE tradition and of such new tendencies working against this as can be regarded as a result of outside influences. I propose, therefore, to deal with words of OE origin in the first part of this section and with words of foreign origin in the second.

Each part is further sub-divided into three sections; the first dealing with the survival of grammatical gender; the second with changes in the original gender and the third with the loss of grammatical gender.

The results obtained in this investigation are based on the evidence of those criteria which point unambiguously to one gender and to one only, with the single exception of the nsgm. and nsgf. of the personal pronoun, viz. forms he and heo, which - as we have seen - are often interchangeable in these texts. The criteria in question are as follows:

For masculine:

B : nsg. he : asg. hine - asg. bene, -ne<sup>1</sup>  
 L : nsg. he : asg. him, hine - asg. ben(e), -ne  
 C : nsg. he : asg. him - asg. ben

For feminine:

B : nsg. heo : g/dsg. hire - g/dsg. -re<sup>2</sup>  
 L : nsg. heo : a.g.dsg. hire : asg. as  
 C : nsg. heo : a.g.dsg. hire : asg. is

For neuter:

B : n/asg. : hit - n/asg. bat : asg. bis  
 L : n/asg. : hit  
 C : n/asg. : hit

It will be observed that in the Legendary and the Chronicle there are fewer gender-distinguishing forms than in the Brut. In fact, with the exception of the asgm. ben(e) and occasional anne, bisne, minne or adjectival -ne, almost the only other distinctive forms are those of the third singular personal pronoun. The use of a particular form of the personal pronoun as a criterion for grammatical gender is something essentially different, however, from the use of evidence provided by adjectives and pronominal adjectives qualifying nouns. For these, as well as the definite and indefinite article, are in closer and more

- 
1. -ne being the characteristic asgm. ending of the indefinite article, pronominal adjectives and the strong adjective.
  2. -re being the characteristic g/dsgf. ending of the definite and indefinite article, pronominal adjectives and the strong adjective.

immediate morphological (as distinct from syntactic) relationship with the noun they 'qualify'. The personal pronoun, on the other hand, is in somewhat remoter grammatical relationship with a noun because it is a substitute for that noun rather than a qualifier of it. And since he, heo / hit often had, by this time, a connotation relating to animacy / inanimacy it was more natural that this connotation should sometimes overrule certain kinds of grammatical concord, e.g. when heo and not hit is used as a substitute for wif. The first signs of this kind of breakdown in strictly grammatical agreement are to be found already in OE where, for instance, there are cases of hit referring to nouns which are not neuter in gender.<sup>1</sup>

#### NOUNS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN

The situation as regards the gender of nouns of OE origin in our three texts is given in the tables below, the figures representing the numbers of nouns. The total for each text includes all relevant nouns therein, whether some of these are found in the other texts or not. The intention of these tables is simply to give a picture of the over-all relationship between the gender of all relevant nouns in each text and their OE equivalents. It should be noted that nouns having one gender or more will figure more than once in the totals given below.

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1. Cf. Wulfing, op. cit. § 238, p. 350. See also Moore, op. cit. p. 97 ff.



Masculines:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OE m.</u> | <u>OE m.f.</u> | <u>OE m.n.</u> | <u>OE f.</u> | <u>OE n.</u> | <u>OE -</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| B | 104          | 85           | 2              | 3              | 8            | 6            | -           | 104          |
| L | 68           | 54           | 2              | 1              | 8            | 3            | -           | 68           |
| C | 36           | 25           | 1              | 1              | 4            | 5            | -           | 36           |
|   | <u>208</u>   |              |                |                |              |              |             | <u>208</u>   |

Feminines:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OE f.</u> | <u>OE f.m.</u> | <u>OE nmf.</u> | <u>OE m.</u> | <u>OE n.</u> | <u>OE -</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| B | 109          | 84           | 1              | 1              | 8            | 12           | 3           | 109          |
| L | 40           | 30           | 1              | 1              | 5            | 3            | -           | 40           |
| C | 12           | 9            | -              | -              | 2            | 1            | -           | 12           |
|   | <u>161</u>   |              |                |                |              |              |             | <u>161</u>   |

Neuters:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OE n.</u> | <u>OE m.n.</u> | <u>OE f/n.</u> | <u>OE m.</u> | <u>OE f.</u> | <u>OE -</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| B | 98           | 61           | 2              | 1              | 17           | 15           | 2           | 98           |
| L | 90           | 47           | -              | -              | 29           | 12           | 2           | 90           |
| C | 21           | 8            | -              | -              | 8            | 5            | -           | 21           |
|   | <u>209</u>   |              |                |                |              |              |             | <u>209</u>   |

It should be pointed out that because only the unequivocal evidence has been taken into account, the figures as given above are somewhat lower than the actual number of nouns possessing gender (whether masculine, feminine or neuter).<sup>1</sup>

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1. The evidence of the *gsgm/n.* and the *dagm/n.* has been omitted for the very reason that they are used to express these two genders. The *asgf. pa* has not been included either, since it can be used as an uninflected form regardless of gender. The *asg. mine* B, L, as well as *min* C, have been disregarded, since they do not make any distinction between masculine and feminine nouns. The same applies to the *asg. ane* L (to a certain degree also in B) and *an* C (before consonants). Although such evidence has not been included in the above figures, it has been taken into account wherever it corroborates other kinds of evidence, and throws any light in doubtful cases, especially where a change in gender seems to have taken place. The form *bat* in L and C, as indeed to some extent also in B, is no longer an unambiguous indication of neuter gender and therefore disregarded in L and C.



# I. RETENTION OF GENDER IN NATIVE NOUNS

Nouns denoting animates in which the natural gender agrees with the grammatical gender have been omitted; the above figures relate therefore to nouns denoting things, to abstract nouns and to those denoting animates where the natural gender was at variance with the grammatical one. Accordingly, most of them may be said to possess true grammatical gender and it is only in exceptional cases that such gender as they have may be due to personifications, e.g. deað, gost.<sup>1</sup>

## Masculine nouns.

The language of *Lazamon A* is close enough to OE with regard to case and gender systems for it to be hardly necessary to do anything more than give a numerical account of nouns established as masculine, feminine and neuter, and to provide a full list of these; the former has been provided in the above tables and the latter is to be found in the Appendix 11.<sup>2</sup>

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1. gost of course might be regarded as referring to an animate; cf. p. 143.

2. On the evidence of the *dsg.* þan, twelve additional nouns which were masculine in OE, may still possess that gender in the *Brut*. In three cases this evidence is corroborated by the *nsg.* þe, thus showing that the nouns in question are not neuter. They are: rug, stef and time. On the same evidence it can be established that the origin of plihte is OE pliht, m. and not OE plihte, f.; also that OE wiella, m. in addition to OE wielle, f. survives in welle. This is supported by the *gsg.* form welles. For the remainder, see Appendix 11.

There is, however, a group of nouns in the Brut which merits some consideration. It consists of pairs of words which in OE had the same meaning but differed in gender according to a difference in the ending of the nominative singular; e.g. swipa, m.<sup>1</sup> as against swipe, f. and hilt, m. as against hilte, f. Since this kind of morphological difference tended to disappear in ME with the weakening of -a to -e and the addition of an unhistorical -e to some of the nouns which originally ended in a consonant, there is often no longer anything about the form of the noun itself to show whether it derived from the OE masculine noun or the OE feminine noun. It is only the evidence provided by the relevant appositional words or by the relevant personal pronoun which can furnish us with clues about this.<sup>2</sup>

Among the nouns retaining their original masculine gender in the Legendary, a few have been included in spite of the regular or occasional occurrence of the form heo of the personal pronoun in reference to them. First, there are: asse, hare and staf. That these nouns are to be regarded as masculine is confirmed by the evidence of the gsg. is of the personal pronoun in reference to asse and hare and in the case of staf by the asgm. hine, as well as by the asgm. pane. We have already

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1. Not in Sweet, but see Clark Hall, Bosworth-Toller, Holthausen.

2. Thus, on the evidence of enne, I have included the noun swipe among masculines in the Brut, in spite of the possibility that enne stands for the asgf. (see p. 36 ff.); that the noun is treated as masculine in this text is confirmed, however, by the dsg. pan in: Mid pan formeste swipen iii.284/9 her comen þreo hundred scipen.



noted<sup>1</sup> that heo is not a sure indication of feminine gender. It is impossible, however, with the evidence available, to be certain about three other nouns which were masculine in OE, but which are here referred to by heo. They are: feuere, ouene and wude. It may possibly be that feuere changed its gender under the influence of Lat. febris or OF fievre and that ouene became feminine owing to its ending in -e; but there is no evidence to substantiate this view and neither of these nouns occurs in the Brut. All that can be said, therefore, is that these two nouns are either masculine or feminine, and not neuter. The fact that they are not neuter is, however, of some importance for our purpose, even if we cannot classify them as specifically masculine or feminine. In the absence of any other kind of evidence in L and C for either gender in such cases, I have assumed that heo is sometimes no more than a variant form of the masculine he, and that therefore there is insufficient evidence for us to claim that there has been any change in the above instances from the original masculine gender.<sup>2</sup> A comparison with the Brut makes a change in the gender of wude seem in any case unlikely, since the noun is treated as masculine in

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1. Cf. p. 101.

2. Cf. pat in ane ache of pe feuere is 319/385. It may also be of some interest to note that feuere is referred to by the masculine pronoun in Langland's Piers the Plowman (text B) and in Gower's Confessio Amantis (see Ausbüttel, op. cit. pp. 53-54), but whether or not this should be regarded as a survival of the original gender would be difficult to prove. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 56, ascribes it to an alleged tendency to treat nouns as masculine in ME. There is also the possibility that in these cases we are dealing with personifications rather than grammatical gender.

Lazamon. If, however, there had been a change in gender in the Legendary, it is much more likely to have been caused by some outside influence than by the ending -e of the noun.<sup>1</sup> For this tendency of nouns in -e to become feminine seems to have been neither long-lived nor thorough-going;<sup>2</sup> except for those nouns that had already changed their gender at some earlier stage, there seem to be no signs of it in the two later texts. I have felt justified, therefore, in regarding this noun as masculine in the Legendary as it is in the Brut.<sup>3</sup>

No such ambiguity arises in connection with masculine nouns in the Chronicle; all originally masculine nouns that appear to be masculine in this text are used with or

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1. Possibly under the influence of OF forest, f. - The Chronicle offers no help in this case, since the noun does not occur.
  2. There are numerous masculine nouns in -e in the Brut; e.g. boȝe, cure, drake, drope, dune<sup>2</sup>, gare, grome, here<sup>1</sup>, huie, mete, none, scute, stede, sterre, stude, sweore, swipe, wode. For some originally neuter nouns in -e in the Brut, see p.
  3. The noun beiz in L (he com and fond pane beiz of gold : pat seint Nicholas hadde i-brought 241/38) presents a rather difficult problem. The form and the gender suggest that the noun derives from OE bēag, m. 'ring', but this meaning does not seem to be in harmony with the context. The word 'bag' is what we seem to require, since the above is taken out of the legend of Saint Nicholas, whose symbol is sometimes three bags of gold, the dowry he is supposed to have given to three girls to save them from degradation. This example is cited by Kurath and Kuhn in the Middle English Dictionary to illustrate a general meaning of 'treasure' which developed from the original 'ring'. The reference, however, is wrong since it is given as S. Leg. Mich. MS Harl.2277 reads here: He com and fond pe weg of gold 551/36. The word 'weg' descends presumably from OE wēge, f. 'weight'.



referred to only by forms associated with this gender, viz. the asgm. þen of the definite article and the forms he : him of the personal pronoun.

We have seen that the form þen is the only survival of the gender-distinguishing forms of the definite article in this text.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that as such it is an indication that the noun it precedes is masculine in gender.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the late date of the Chronicle, it may be useful to re-examine at this stage the validity of the

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1. See p. 126. MS Trinity Colledge Cambridge R. 4.26 (c.1400), however, contains a few survivals of the dsgr. þare, þere, only one of which is with an OE noun (of þere boru 68/30). The rest are with OF nouns (in þare route 149/22, in þere companie 306/6, of þere seignorie 307/24). It is noteworthy that the asgm. form in this MS survives in most cases as þane, þene, and only in a few as þan.
  2. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 37 ff; he gives the list of nouns preceded by þen, but says: "Die Verbindung atte nende zeigt recht deutlich, dass man sich Zusammensetzung nicht mehr bewusst war, geschweige, dass man durch þen den geschlechtigen Character des Wortes hätte ausdrücken wollen." But the 'hiatus' þen (mainly found in the dative singular after prepositions, sometimes regardless of the original gender of the noun it precedes - see p. 128) does not invalidate þen as a criterion for masculine gender altogether, since in the accusative singular it is almost exclusively found with originally masculine nouns; in those cases where it is used with originally feminine nouns (hond, world) or a neuter noun (gospel), there are other reasons for believing that these nouns have become masculine. His second argument is still less acceptable. He maintains that from the form þen we cannot infer that grammatical gender has been retained, since words of similar meaning (sic) are at the same time referred to by the genderless hit (op. cit. pp. 45-46). As we have seen, hit is a different kind of criterion for gender than the definite article; consequently the evidence of one does not necessarily destroy the evidence of the other, even when we are dealing with one and the same word. - Ausbüttel does not consider the cases with þen at all.

personal pronoun as a criterion for grammatical gender.<sup>1</sup> The question is: can we be certain in all cases where the personal pronoun refers to a noun not denoting persons or animals that we are dealing with grammatical gender and not something else? Is it not possible that sometimes what appears to be gender is, in fact, personification? Such, for instance, seems to be the case with the noun gost, for which there is no other evidence about gender except that of the personal pronoun. If we allow of the possibility, as we clearly should, that the personal pronoun can sometimes be an indication not of grammatical gender but of the noun it refers to being given a 'personified' gender, how are we to distinguish between the two uses of the personal pronoun? In such cases where the 'personified' gender is the same as the grammatical and the personal pronoun is the only evidence available, this is extremely difficult to do, although the meaning of the word itself and the context in which it occurs are often helpful.

But to decide with certainty whether a noun still possesses grammatical gender or not, we must also have the evidence of the asgm. ben of the definite article; for so long as the noun is preceded by ben, we can be sure that it is grammatically masculine, whether it is used as a personification

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1. This is necessary here, since it is generally assumed that grammatical gender came to an end in the South West Midland dialect about 1250 (cf. Körner, op. cit. pp. 35-36; Morsbach, op. cit. p. 8; Glahn, op. cit. p. 25). Our text of the Chronicle comes from a MS dated c.1325, at least twenty five years later than the text of The Legendary (c.1300).



or not. So from the examples with the noun dep we may suspect from the context that it is sometimes personified and sometimes not. For instance:

a) pen dep vor to fle 1554 (probably personified);

b) king henri pen dep nom 9128 (probably not).

What is important is that in both cases the noun is masculine in gender.<sup>1</sup>

There are, however, some cases for which there is no other evidence except the personal pronoun, but in which personification as an explanation for the use of he etc. may safely be ruled out; e.g. appel, knif, kinedom. Since all these nouns were masculine in OE, it seems reasonable to regard the evidence of the personal pronoun as indicating a survival of the OE gender. Attempts, however, have been made to attribute the gender in such cases to foreign influences, namely Latin or French.<sup>2</sup> This,

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1. Körner, op. cit. p. 46, holds the view that where hit refers to nouns occasionally used with the gender-distinguishing forms he and heo, it is a sign that these nouns (e.g. toun, cite, castel; chirche and brugge) are not used as personifications in these particular cases. In other words, where they are referred to by he and heo they are to be regarded as personifications, and not as having grammatical gender. Admittedly, there is no way of proving that nouns referred to by the feminine pronoun are grammatically feminine, but on the evidence of the asgm. pen it is possible to establish that castel, stude and toune are masculine in gender. The occurrences of hit in such cases need not disturb us, since it is to be expected at this date that natural gender will occasionally prevail over grammatical.

2. Ausbüttel in almost all instances attributes the gender to Latin or OF. Thus he explains he with reference to appel as due to associative influence of pomum (p. 45). But the noun was n. in Lat. and f. in OE (possibly because the plural poma came to be used as singular). According to him, castel, m. is due to OF chasteau (p. 30), gost : animus (p. 52), kingdom : le pays (p. 26), op : le sacrement (p. 99), wal : le mur (p. 32), wei : le oemin (p. 35).

however, is quite impossible to prove in cases where one gender is common to both OE Latin or OF, and the more reasonable course would be to accept such cases as a continuation of the OE tradition, admitting at most that the influence of Latin or OF may possibly have helped to preserve the old gender. One argument in favour of this proposition is the fact that there are nouns that survive as masculine in spite of the feminine gender of their equivalents in Latin and OF. They are: deb (mors, la mort),<sup>1</sup> sterre (stella, etoile);<sup>2</sup> to these could be added toun (la cite);<sup>3</sup> and possibly appel.<sup>4</sup>

#### Feminine nouns.

Little need be said about those feminine nouns that retain their original gender in the Brut, except that hilte appears to be a descendant of OE hilte, f. and not OE hilt, m.n. and that teone appears to descend from OE teone, f. and not OE teona, m. With feminine nouns, however, one cannot be very sure on this point since their gender may possibly be due solely to the ending -e of these nouns regardless of its origin and consequently of the original gender of such nouns.<sup>5</sup> The case

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1. Cf. Morsbach, op. cit. p. 18.

2. Cf. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 20; but the noun is also feminine in this text.

3. Note that the noun cite is masculine in the Chronicle.

4. Provided he is not a variant of heo here. The noun is, however, firmly established as masculine in the Legendary.

5. But see p. 141, footnote 2.



of welle is somewhat different from those mentioned above, since both genders are preserved in the Brut, masculine (OE wiell, wiella) and feminine (OE wielle), the latter being more often used, perhaps owing to the ending -e.<sup>1</sup>

According to the evidence of heo, welle appears to be only feminine in the Legendary.<sup>2</sup> Two occurrences of he in reference to coluere and cow have been disregarded, since other evidence, viz. hire, shows that these two nouns remained feminine, and since (as we have already seen) he is not a certain indication of masculine gender. In these two latter cases we are, of course, probably dealing with natural rather than grammatical gender.

There are no occurrences in the Chronicle of the form heo of the personal pronoun with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things and the establishing of gender on the evidence of the nominative singular is thus made somewhat diffi-

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1. There is one occurrence of enne with the noun dic, which I have accepted as evidence for the masculine gender, although in the following lines the noun is treated as feminine, i.e. as descending from OE dic, f. 'ditch' and not OE dic, m. 'dike'. The two seem to have been occasionally confused in OE itself, although the word was more frequently masculine when it meant the same as OE weall, m.; cf. R.v.Fleischhacker, 'On the Old English nouns of more than one gender', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1888-90, p. 253.

2. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 35, commenting on the genders of welle in Ywaine and Gawain, 2091-93, says that the feminine gender is due to la fontaine and the masculine is to be explained as due to the peculiarities of the Anglo-French dialects or else to a tendency to treat nouns as masculine in ME.

cult.<sup>1</sup> Of nouns originally feminine, brugge, halle, hauene and churche are referred to by he. For the first three there is no other evidence in C to show whether they have changed their gender or not.<sup>2</sup> In the Brut, however, brugge and hauene are treated as feminine. We may therefore assume that - unless a change in the gender of these nouns occurred after the time of the Brut - the form he is no more than a variant of heo in these cases. It is always evidence of non-neuter gender and it need never be accepted as evidence against feminine gender. A different problem is presented by the noun churche, which - on other grounds - appears to be both feminine and masculine in C.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore impossible to say whether he referring to it in 10307 is only a variant of heo and so goes together with the other evidence for the feminine gender or whether it is to be regarded as the nsgm. he and so corroborating the evidence of the asgm. him.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The form heo is otherwise normally used with reference to nouns denoting persons, but the form he also occurs in such circumstances.
  2. Kärner, op. cit. p. 40, insists on a change in gender in the noun hauene, conforming to an alleged tendency to treat nouns denoting 'feste Bauwerke' as masculines; in this disagreement with the original gender of the noun, he finds confirmation to his theory that in such cases we are not dealing with grammatical gender at all, but with what he calls 'rhetorische Geschlecht'. For brugge, however, he admits the possibility of he being used as a feminine form (op. cit. p. 41). Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 32, also points out that he in Robert of Gloucester is not decisive for masculine gender.
  3. See p. 161.
  4. Having missed the example of him with reference to church, Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 32, comes to the conclusion that he is to be regarded as a variant of heo, i.e. as evidence for the feminine gender.



Neuter nouns.

It will be observed that the evidence for the neuter gender in L and C, and occasionally also in B, rests exclusively on that of the personal pronoun hit. More will be said later about hit when used with reference to historically non-neuter nouns.<sup>1</sup> In connection with historically neuter nouns, however, a few points of interest may be mentioned here.

A question of whether we are dealing with the survival of neuter gender or not arises with the nouns riche, rihte and temple. Some of the evidence indicates that these nouns are feminine in the Brut, but other evidence (not necessarily of a different kind) suggests that they are sometimes neuter. That riche and rihte are neuter in the Brut is testified not only by hit in both cases, but also by the asgn. pat and the dsgr/n. nane for riche and rihte respectively. There seem to be two possible explanations for this; neuter forms in these cases are either a) remains of the old neuter gender or b) signs of a new neuter gender, to which these two nouns reverted after a period of having the feminine gender. Although the first alternative is a more likely one, the second is not impossible, since both noun - unlike temple - are treated as neuter in the Legendary.<sup>2</sup> The case of temple is different, since apart from

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1. See p. 184 ff.

2. Hoffmann, op. cit. 60, contends that those cases in which riche is neuter are not due to the old neuter gender, but to the analogy with lond. No such analogy is easy to suggest for rihte, however.

a single reference to it by hit, all other evidence shows that the noun has undergone a change in gender and become feminine, which is the gender it has in the Legendary also. This would suggest that the solitary occurrence of hit in reference to temple is no more than a trace of the old neuter gender.<sup>1</sup>

The noun brimme as we have it in the Brut appears to have the meaning of OE brymme, m. 'border; sea-shore' and the gender of OE brim, n. 'sea'. A confusion in such cases is very likely, but it should be pointed out that the evidence for the neuter rests on a single occurrence of hit, the remaining examples occurring with the *dsg.* forms which serve no more than to indicate either masculine or neuter.

Finally, it must be specially emphasized that the figures for neuter nouns as given in the tables clearly present an imperfect picture of the position of the neuter gender in L and C. This is due to the fact that the establishing of gender in these two texts depends solely on the evidence of the personal pronoun, and therefore on the accident of whether it is present in the context. One finds, however, that very often the noun itself is repeated in preference to the pronoun.

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1. Körner, op. cit. p. 33, takes this example of hit in reference to temple as a sign of the loss of gender. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, disagrees with him on the grounds that grammatical gender is well preserved in Lazamon, and that therefore it could only be due to a change in gender, not to the loss of it. He also seems reluctant, without giving any explanation, to accept it as a survival of the old neuter. But as the comparison with L shows, there is no evidence either for the change or the loss of gender, and the only remaining possibility is as suggested above; cf. N.v. Glahn, op. cit. p. 13.



There is also another group of nouns that should be considered here.<sup>1</sup> It consists of nouns which have more than one gender in OE but usually retain one of these in our texts.

They are:

Masculine nouns:

B : m. and n. in OE : flode, holt

m. and f. in OE : help,<sup>2</sup> hul

L : m. and n. in OE : dew

m. and f. in OE : help, hul

C : m. and n. in OE : box<sup>3</sup>

m. and f. in OE : hul

The most important thing to be noticed above is that some nouns are only clearly identifiable as masculine in our texts, although they could also, so far as the evidence goes, be neuter as well in OE. It has been suggested that the masculine gender of the originally neuter noun holt developed by analogy with wude, weald in OE.<sup>4</sup> This would mean that the masculine is the later of the two genders and that as such it, rather than the earlier neuter, survived in the Brut. For our purposes, however, the more interesting are those nouns which

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1. Cf. also Appendix II for twelve additional nouns which were neuter in OE and - on the evidence of the dative singular - seem to have remained so in Lazamon.

2. The gender of help is usually given as f. m.; for a discussion see p. 151.

3. Sweet does not give neuter as a gender of box; but cf. Clark Hall and Holthausen.

4. Cf. R.v. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 253.

retain the masculine gender in cases where it was the older of the two, such as box for instance, and probably dew and flode.<sup>1</sup>

Equally important is the fact that each of the three texts treats hul as masculine<sup>2</sup> and that B and L agree in treating the noun help as masculine and not feminine;<sup>3</sup> the feminine gender is much the more common in OE. This agreement seems to offer good evidence for a dialectal affinity between these works and therefore indicates the occasional relevance of characteristics of gender in the study of early ME dialects.<sup>4</sup>

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1. On the evidence contained in vol. 1. flode appears to be only masculine in the Brut. Hoffmann, however, cites the example in 20171 (wrongly cited as 20271): no bat lond no bat flot, to show that the noun (if indeed flot is not another word altogether) could also be neuter (op. cit. p.64). Madden in his Glossary lists the word as neuter.
  2. Ausbüttel makes no mention of hul as being masculine in C. For hill in Trevisa's Polychronicon: bat hille ... he is cleped Mons Caucasus he finds in the Latin text (mons) Caucasus dicitur and comes to the conclusion that the masculine gender of hill is due to the gender of mons. Cf. op. cit. pp. 34-35.
  3. This statement is based primarily on the evidence of nenne B and nanne L; less trustworthy is the evidence of the gsg. helpes B, since this ending occurs in the paradigm of some feminine nouns which do not appear to have changed their gender; e.g. sawles in Sawles Warde; cf. d'Ardenne, The Liffade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne, Liege, 1936, p. 209. Some other originally feminine nouns, like burh, world seem to have adopted the masculine gender, however.
  4. On the evidence of the dative singular OE luft, f.m.n. is either masculine or neuter in the Brut, but not feminine. On the same evidence the noun breste (OE brēost, n.m.f.) which is normally feminine in the Brut, appears occasionally to have retained its original neuter gender or else its masculine one.

Feminine nouns:

B : f. and m. in OE : see

n. m. f. in OE : breoste

L : f. and m. in OE : candele, sea

As can be seen from the above, both B and L treat the noun sea as feminine, the gender which it is supposed to have developed on the analogy of ēa, f. in OE.<sup>1</sup> The noun breoste seems to be mainly feminine in *Lazamon A*; although the word occurs in all three genders in OE, there is little doubt that it was originally neuter and that therefore there had been a change in its gender. For this reason it seems more appropriate to discuss it together with the other nouns which have undergone a change in gender.<sup>2</sup> As regards candele, it is most likely that it owes its feminine gender to Lat. candela.<sup>3</sup>

Neuter nouns:

B : m. and n. in OE : ædel, garsume

f. and n. in OE : feht; biheste

The neuter gender of ædel may be due, as Hoffmann<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cf. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 245.

2. See p. 177.

3. R.v. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 248, cites Pogatcher, Lautlehre des Lehnworte in ae. (§ 256), as saying that OE condel, f. could not have been a popular word. For in that case one ought to expect a masculine condel or a feminine condele.

4. op. cit. p. 62.



suggests, to an association with the synonymous lond. As regards garusme, it appears to have preserved both genders, if we can accept the nsg. þa garsume as a survival of the masculine gender rather than an uninflected form of the definite article. All the evidence shows the noun feht to be a descendant of OE feoht, n. and not of OE feohte, f. The noun biheste, however, could historically speaking only be feminine and neuter so far as its components were feminine (bihæs) and neuter (behāt). In *Lazamon* it is referred to by hit and therefore appears to be neuter.

## II. CHANGES IN GENDER IN NATIVE NOUNS

After all the peculiarities of the texts have been taken into account and possible scribal mistakes disregarded, a number of nouns show that the gender they have in the Brut, the Legendary and the Chronicle is not the same as the one they had in OE. Some of these nouns show a complete change in gender, i.e. they appear in our texts only with forms characteristic of their new gender; others are found also with forms associated with their old gender. There seem to be two possible explanations for the duality in gender of the latter group of nouns. First, the change might not have been completed, so that for a time both genders co-existed.<sup>1</sup> The other possibility is

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1. It is immaterial here what had been the cause of the change; whether it is a result of tendencies working within the native system of gender or of developments due to the influence of a foreign gender-system.



that no change in the proper sense of the term had taken place, in which case what we have is no more than a result of a confusion in a decaying system of gender, the beginning, in other words, of a noun having no gender in particular. However, if both types of evidence are available, namely the evidence of the third singular personal pronoun and that of the definite article and other appositional words, it may be safely assumed that there had been a genuine change in gender, whatever its cause, and regardless of whether or not the old gender survives.

Changes from the original gender appear to have a variety of causes, sometimes more than one being at work. In any discussion of this problem, however, one thing must be made clear at the outset: that - with the possible exception of translations where changes may be attributed to a direct influence of the original - one cannot be absolutely certain of the actual cause for the change in any particular case. The whole problem can therefore be dealt with only in terms of probabilities.

Factors that determine changes in gender seem to be, basically, of two kinds; those connected with the form of a given noun and those connected with its meaning.

It is to be expected that after a number of morphological changes had taken place in early ME, which eliminated most of the distinguishing features of gender in the noun and its qualifiers, an uncertainty as to gender should have arisen

on purely morphological grounds. It is also clear that this uncertainty should have resulted in a confusion and shifting of genders, the analogy of form playing an important part in the process.

The workings of this analogy of form are to be found in a tendency of nouns ending in a consonant to become masculine<sup>1</sup> and of those ending in -e to become feminine.<sup>2</sup> Such changes, more or less mechanical, seem never to have been very extensive,<sup>3</sup> and the tendency which was causing them appears to have died out, so far as our texts are concerned, after the time of the Brut.<sup>4</sup> It would follow therefore that changes for reasons of form are not to be expected either in the Legendary or in the Chronicle.

1. A great majority of nouns ending in a consonant were masculine already in OE. By analogy to those, some originally f. or n. nouns which ended in a consonant, as well as those which lost their original vowel ending, became masculine in early ME; cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 56, Morsbach, op. cit. pp. 9-10, Glahn, op. cit. p. 16.
2. The ending -e, whether a result of the weakening of the inflectional vowel of the nominative singular, or borrowed into the nsg. from the oblique cases, became a characteristic ending of feminine nouns in late OE by analogy to those feminine nouns that originally had -e in the nominative singular. As a result, nouns ending in -e, regardless of its origin and, consequently, regardless of their original gender, are frequently treated as feminine; cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 56, Morsbach, op. cit. p. 10, Glahn, op. cit. pp. 15-16.
3. In addition to masculine nouns ending in -e in the Brut (see p. 141, note 2), there are also some neuter nouns which have not changed their gender, despite their ending in -e; e.g. 3ate, tacne.
4. At this point one cannot help wondering what would have happened to the gender system in English, if the influence of French had made itself felt earlier than it actually did. Would this tendency of nouns ending in a consonant to become masculine and of those ending in -e to become feminine have been strengthened by/



A change in gender can also occur on account of a similarity of meaning of one noun to another. This tendency for words of related meaning to have the same gender is present already in OE; what happens in ME is therefore only a continuation of an old practice.<sup>1</sup>

As will be shown in the discussion to follow, a change in gender may have occurred as a result of an association with synonymous words irrespective of their origin; native words can influence one another with regard to gender or be influenced by corresponding words of foreign origin, mainly Latin and French.<sup>2</sup> But while the influence of Latin and French nouns needs little explanation in translations, it affords a problem of considerable interest when it is suspected in original works. For it is to be assumed that the word more often used would be the one to influence that which is used less frequently.<sup>3</sup> How then, for

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by analogy with the similar state of affairs in French? If this had been the case, English of today might have possessed a two-gender system, masculine and feminine, at the expense of neuter, which was rapidly losing its morphological distinctions, and which in any case may to some extent be regarded, in the words of Jespersen, as a "subdivision of masculine".

1. These changes due to the meaning of words are not restricted only to OE or ME; they are known, for example, to have taken place also in French and German. Jespersen gives the example of F. été which changed from f. to m. on account of the other names of the seasons, hiver, printemps, automne. In the same way G. die Mittwoche became der Mittwoch after der Tag and the names of the other days of the week; see The Philosophy of Grammar, London, (1924) 1951, p. 229.
2. Since Latin and French mostly agree with regard to gender, it is not always possible to distinguish the influence of the one from that of the other upon the gender of English nouns.
3. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 58.

instance, are we to explain the alleged influence of the gender of a French noun on the gender of a native noun, if the French noun itself (which is supposed to have caused the change) has not been borrowed into English at all? The fact, however, remains that the change in gender of some native nouns can best be explained as due to an associative influence of the corresponding nouns in Latin or French even in cases where these nouns have not been borrowed into English. This influence is more noticeable in the Legendary and the Chronicle than in the Brut; it seems not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the influence of Latin or French with regard to gender could operate upon English only after the gender system in the latter had suffered a sufficient degree of attrition and the old gender of a given noun was in process of being forgotten.

The gender of one noun can cause a change in the gender of another, if they happen to be coupled in frequently recurring phrases. In such instances a similarity in meaning does not seem to be a prerequisite; in some cases the noun in question may indeed have a contrary signification.<sup>1</sup> A noun can also

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1. Thus R.v.Fleischhacker, op. cit. pp. 251 and 254, suggests that OE heofon, m. became heofone, f. following the analogy of OE eorðe, f. as to its gender and partly as to its declension. Cf. also Glahn, op. cit. p. 18, who explains the feminine gender of French la mer from Latin mare, n. as due to an analogy of terre (par terre et par mer). For English he gives no certain examples, but offers tentatively mone, f. from OE mona, m. by analogy with OE sunna, f.



take the gender of another if together they form a rhyme. In such cases a similarity in sound, regardless of meaning, appears to be sufficient to cause a change.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in connection with meaning, it remains to consider the influence of natural gender on grammatical gender. As already in OE, there is a tendency to bring about conformity between grammatical gender and sex; thus the neuter nouns mæide and wif are referred to by heo, hire and so is the OE masculine wifmon. But while the influence of natural gender is felt on mæide and wif only so far as the personal pronoun goes, in the Brut we find examples like: bi þære wimman 271/10, showing that the noun was, occasionally at least, treated as grammatically feminine. The noun child is neuter in all three texts, but can be (and often is) referred to by the masculine forms of the personal pronoun; this has already been pointed out in the discussion of forms in each of the three texts under examination.

We shall now examine the nouns which show a change in gender, whether complete or sporadic, and consider possible

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1. Hoffmann and Glahn disagree on this point. The former, op. cit. pp. 56, 61, recognizes the influence of rhyme, but takes it to be conditioned by a similarity in meaning. Glahn, op. cit. pp. 16-17, claims that the similarity need not go beyond that of sound, as is often the case in German (according to Polzin) and in French (according to Meyer-Lübke). In support of this view he gives the example of shame which changed its gender probably under the influence of grame or name.

reasons for the change in each case. In the discussion which follows, the actual citations of examples illustrating that change will not, except in very few cases, be repeated here, since they are given in the Glossary.

### NEW MASCULINES

#### From feminine nouns.

##### I. Complete change:

B : blase, chin, scome

L : pers, Sonnen-nyght, Wodnesnyght, world

C : rode, world

##### II. Sporadic change:

B : burh, care, modcare, niht, siht, ?world

L : boc, heouene, sonne, soule

C : church, hond

blase B on the evidence of the asg. enne appears to have changed its gender under the influence of the synonymous blysa, m.; cf. also blæs, blæst, both masculine.

boc L is usually feminine in this text as it is in the Brut.

Once, however, hine is used in reference to it; this may merely be a mistake for hire, although other explanations are not only possible, but more likely. For it is apparent from the context that the 'book' in question is 'gospel'; the noun gospel, however, is masculine in C and not neuter as in OE. The influence of le livre may also have something to do with this change.

burh B is normally feminine in the A text, but there are also examples showing it to be sometimes masculine.<sup>1</sup> This change may have been caused by the consonantal ending of the word. On the other hand, the influence of castel, m. seems to be a possible reason for the change. For one finds examples in which burh is subsequently named castel; e.g. *ane neowe burh makede 113/11 ... Meidene castel he was icleoped 113/14.*<sup>2</sup> There is also one example in which the two nouns make a compound: *ne wið inne þon castel-buri 286/12*, which is probably masculine in gender.<sup>3</sup>

care B has retained the feminine gender, but side by side with examples illustrating this gender one finds examples of a new masculine gender. There do not seem to be any reasons to suppose that the change occurred on any formal grounds, since the gender changes in spite of the noun ending in -e. The change is therefore probably due to an association with a synonymous noun.<sup>4</sup> The single example of the noun mod-care is used with a masculine form; a comparison with care clearly shows that the noun has undergone no complete change in gender.

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1. In the B text burh is more frequently masculine; cf. Körner, op. cit. pp. 24-25.
  2. Cf. also the example cited by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 59: *Lane-castel hine bæhten 11.171/20.*
  3. Cf. p. 99.
  4. Körner, op. cit. p. 26, suggests: Möglich ist, dass auf die masc. Fassung von scome das Wort grome eingewirkt hat und diese beiden vielleicht, vereint mit herm, auf care. Cf. also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 62.



chin B has probably changed its gender owing to its ending in a consonant.<sup>1</sup>

church C is usually feminine, as it is in B and L. There are, however, a few examples in which the noun is treated as masculine. In one case the noun probably has this gender because of an identification of the Church with the Pope, since the example reads: (clanliche to restore) holi churchē pat pou hast. him binomo mid wronge 10288.<sup>2</sup> Apart from this, there is another example in which the noun church is referred to by him: bei seinte Peter him sulf . ihalwed him adde er 7158.<sup>3</sup> The context clearly shows that the meaning applies to the building. The only possible reason for this change, if it really is one, and not a scribal error, seems to be the influence of French temple, m. In a similar context, however, the noun is feminine: An churchē of seint Ion pe baptist. Constantin let rere/ & cluped is Constantiniāne 1924. It is therefore impossible to decide whether he in: pat he ihalwed was 8592, supports the evidence for the masculine, or whether it is just a variant of heo, in which case it is not to be regarded as evidence for masculine at all. The same applies to the example of he in 10307.

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1. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 59; also N.v.Glahn, op. cit. p. 16.

2. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 43.

3. MSS Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 4. 26 and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Digby 205 read hure here; MS Lord Mostyn's Library, Mostyn, Flintshire, No. 259 has hir.



heouene L is feminine in this text as it is in B. Occasionally, however, it appears as masculine; e.g. þe heouene geth ene a-boute ... þe Mone and þe steorrene with him heo berth 311/402. In OE the noun was a strong masculine; in late OE it appears as a weak feminine heofone (after eorðe in heofonan and eorðan<sup>1</sup> or possibly by analogy with OE hell, f.) According to OED, Southern ME had usually hevene, which probably derives from heofone, f., while the more northern form was heven, perhaps from OE heofon, m. It seems therefore that him in the above example cannot be explained as a survival of the OE masculine heofon. The alternative explanation is that the change is due to the influence of corresponding words in Latin or French, caelum and le ciel respectively.<sup>2</sup>

hond C is referred to by the asg. is, thus showing that it still has the feminine gender.<sup>3</sup> Once, however, it appears in the accusative singular as bun ouer hond 1840, i.e. as masculine.<sup>4</sup> There is little doubt that the feminine gender is carried over from OE; about the masculine, however, we cannot be very sure.

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1. Cf. OED s.v. heaven. See also Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 251.
  2. According to Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 18, caelum was masculine in medieval Latin.
  3. No examples for the feminine gender of hond in C are given by Ausbüttel. For the masculine he queries the example in 3635: four hondred men ... is owe hond he slou. We can, however, disregard this occurrence of he, for it is almost certain that it refers to the doer of the action.
  4. Körner, op. cit. p. 38, suggests that habben bun ouer hond must have been a fixed phrase.

The possibilities are that the noun changed to masculine owing to its ending in a consonant,<sup>1</sup> or because of the influence of F le bras,<sup>2</sup> or a combination of these things. In any case, the noun is both feminine or masculine in C, but never neuter.

niht B, Sonen-nyzht L, Wodnesnyzht L. The noun niht is normally feminine in B, but the asg. enne niht 401/13, strengthened by the evidence of to pan mid-nihte 324/3, suggests that the noun can also occasionally be masculine.<sup>3</sup> As Platt<sup>4</sup> points out, the change in gender occurred here as a result of this word being coupled with the masculine dæg in phrases like dæges and nihtes. At all events, the change in B is only a sporadic one. It is difficult, however, to know whether the same is true about Sonen-nyzht and Wodnesnyzht in L, since the only evidence available is that of the temporal phrases bene Sonen-nyzht and bene Wodnesnyzht, which are clearly influenced by the noun day and

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1. Körner, op. cit. p. 24, cites an example in Lazamon in which the noun appears to be masculine: smat Hengest a þon hond 11.267/19. Cf. also Glahn, op. cit. p. 19.
  2. Cf. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 52; also Glahn, op. cit. p. 19.
  3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54, takes this example of pan with mid-nihte to be an error for þare, which is what the B text has.
  4. J. Platt, 'Zur Kentnisse der asg. Geschlechter', Anglia, vol. vi, 1883, p. 174. The ending -es, however, need not necessarily signify a change in gender (cf. p. 151, footnote 3), but it could, as it obviously did, give rise to a confusion as to gender of this and similar historically feminine nouns, whose paradigms show an intrusion of the genitive -es, proper to masculine and neuter nouns.



its compounds in the same function; e.g. bene Sonenday. In view of the fact that the masculine gender is in such cases contrary both to the original OE gender and the gender of Latin and French equivalents (nox, la nuit), it may be doubted whether there was a real change in gender of this noun at all. For bene in such constructions may well have acquired a new function of merely denoting time, ceasing in such cases to mark gender at all. On the other hand, it is possible that a similarity in meaning did cause this noun to change its gender, on the analogy of other masculine nouns denoting time, such as day, monay, time.<sup>1</sup>

poors L shows the influence of OE posa, m. both in gender and the vowel, since otherwise it should have been something like OE purs, f.; cf. Lat. bursa.

rode C is referred to by he, which alone is no reliable evidence for the masculine gender, as has been pointed out earlier.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, the evidence of the gsg. is to confirm that the noun was masculine in C. But it should be noted that in both contexts the masculine gender can be attributed to an identification of the Crucifix with Christ.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 28.

2. See pp. 120-21, 146-7.

3. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 42.

scome B is taken by Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> as an example of a change in gender owing to an association with some word of similar meaning, but he offers no suggestions; Glahn, however, suggests a rhyme-association of grame or name as the cause of the change in the case of scheme.<sup>2</sup> This may be the case, since we actually find scome and grome forming a rhyme in *Lazamon*; e.g.

& menden to him heore seer  
 & heore sorh-sides  
 & þan vnmete scone  
 & þenne muche grome 11.38/20-23.

siht B, on the evidence of the asg. nenne, appears to have the masculine gender in addition to its original feminine gender. If there had been a change, it was probably caused by the noun ending in a consonant.

soule L is established as feminine in this text as it is in B.<sup>3</sup> In several cases, however, the noun is referred to by he. Such occurrences lend themselves to at least two possible interpretations. He may be no more than a variant of heo, in which case there is no change in gender. But a number of occurrences of he at least suggest evidence for the masculine gender; in

1. op. cit. p. 62.

2. N.v. Glahn, op. cit. p. 17; see also Körner, op. cit. p. 26.

3. The preservation of the feminine gender of this noun is usually attributed to the influence of Lat. anima; cf. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 65; also Morsbach, op. cit. p. 19.



such cases it might be attributed to an identification or association of soule with man;<sup>1</sup> e.g.: his soule, þo he was ded : to heouene he gan i-wende 366/55. Only in such cases he can no longer be regarded as evidence for grammatical gender. The gsg. is occurs in a context where it is not easy to decide whether it refers to soule or maister; the line reads: Mid rihte þi soule þi Maister is : and þi bodi is hyne schal beo 93/59. If it can be taken to refer without doubt to the former, this would help to establish that the noun could sometimes be masculine in this text.<sup>2</sup> If it refers to the noun maister, it provides no evidence for grammatical gender. It might also be argued that the preservation of the feminine gender, as well as the development of a masculine gender, is primarily due to the noun being used in a personified sense from the earliest times, the gender in this case perhaps depending to some extent on the natural gender of the 'owner'.

sunne B, sonne L. Of OE sunne, f. and sunna, m. only the feminine sunne survives in B.<sup>3</sup> There is only one example where

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1. Cf. Morsbach, op. cit. p. 19.

2. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 65, cites a few examples of him in reference to the noun soule occurring in some other ME works and contends that: "Soul als Maskulinum ... ist z.T. durch animus, z.T. durch die Identität mit der betr. zugehörigen Person ... beeinflusst."

3. The word is usually feminine in the Teutonic dialects, as for instance in OE, although the masculine sunna also occurs; e.g.: Sona eode sunna, Gn. 32, 31 (see Bosworth-Toller).

the noun appears as masculine, but in this case it is used in a personified sense: Saturnus heo 3iuen sætterdæi, bene Sunne he 3iuen sonedæi 11.158/14.<sup>1</sup> In L the noun sonne is usually feminine, although there are a few examples of he and him used in reference to it. Here too, as in the case of heouene, it is difficult to know whether the occasional occurrences of the masculine forms are due to the survival of the OE masculine noun, or whether they are due to foreign influences. We may note, however, that the noun is mainly feminine, in contrast with Lat. sol and F le soleil.<sup>2</sup>

weorlde B, world L, C. The word is usually feminine in B. In some cases, however, it appears to be neuter.<sup>3</sup> It is not certain therefore whether weorlde in: for þan weorlde scome 20/3 constitutes evidence for the masculine or for the neuter gender. If there had been a change in *Lazamon*, it could have been caused by the consonantal ending of the word.<sup>4</sup> As for

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1. OED cites this example to illustrate the following definition of the word: "As an object of worship in various religions, and thus (and hence generally) personified as a male being, sometimes identified with various gods, esp. Apollo".
  2. Cf. Morsbach, op. cit. p. 15. He maintains, however, that: "Dass kann nur auf englischer literarische Tradition beruhen, nicht aber auf sprachlicher Erhaltung des aeg. Genus".
  3. Cf. p. 27 ff. Also p. 183.
  4. Körner, op. cit. p. 24, says that the evidence of the masculine inflexion and the adjectivally used masculine pronominal forms is contradicted in the Anorene Riwe by the subsequent use of the feminine forms in reference to world. It appears therefore that the change is still not complete in the thirteenth century.



the Legendary and the Chronicle, the noun appears in the asg. as þene world and þen world respectively. On this evidence (and no other is available), we may assume that there had been a change to the masculine by the end of the thirteenth century, though we cannot be certain about its cause. The masculine gender in these cases may be a continuation of the new masculine gender which might have developed because of the final consonant of the noun, but it may be due to the influence of Lat. mundus or F. le mond.<sup>1</sup>

#### From neuter nouns.

##### I. Complete change:

Ð : Engelsond, gospel, Yrlond

##### II. Sporadic change:

B : balu, child, grið, 3er, spere, wunder

L : child, 3er, ?water

C : child, suerd

balu B, as suggested by Hoffmann,<sup>2</sup> may owe its change of gender to an association with a word of similar meaning; it would be

1. This becomes apparent in the texts where a comparison with the French texts is possible; cf. ffor whom þe world was furst wrouzt/ He hap him vnder brouzt - Celui pur ki le mund fu fet/ En son poeir out attreit - The Castle of Love, MS Vernon, 1315 -16, EETS, 98, p. 388. According to Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 17, who cites this example, towards the end of ME the feminine gender submerges again, and is standard in MnE, in Shakespeare and B. Jonson, for instance.

2. op. cit. p. 62.

difficult to say which word this is, but one at least seems possible, viz. heerm, which is still masculine in Lazamon.

child B, L, C is referred to by the masculine forms of the third singular personal pronoun in cases where natural gender prevails. Otherwise the neuter gender is preserved.

Engelond C, Yrlond C are clearly treated as masculine in this text; the evidence of the dag. him is corroborated by the evidence of the nsg. he.<sup>1</sup> But the reason for this change is by no means easy to find. The influence of le pays, suggested by Ausbüttel,<sup>2</sup> is hardly a satisfactory explanation, in view of the fact that the noun lond remains neuter. The only other possible explanation may be found in personification, but this also is not very convincing, since all these examples occur in pure topographical descriptions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Morsbach, op. cit. p. 35, note 20, alleges that he here is equivalent to heo, i.e. feminine, and that him is probably neuter. The only other occurrences of him with reference to a neuter noun are those used of sweord. For further discussion of this form, see s.v. suerd below. The feminine gender he explains (p. 15) as due to an association of lond with la contrée, la région.

2. op. cit. p. 26.

3. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 45. The other two suggestions put forward by him do not seem to be applicable in this case. One is that the change occurred owing to the noun lond ending in a consonant, the other that the masculine gender of lond may be due to an attempt to contrast it with the feminine sea. These cannot be accepted for reasons given earlier; the second suggestion is ruled out because there is no evidence that the noun sea is feminine in the Chronicle.



gospel C has probably changed its gender under the influence of Lat. evangelium, there having been a tendency to treat Latin neuters as masculine in ME;<sup>1</sup> in addition it may have been influenced by F evangile, which was masculine. Noteworthy is the fact that - while undergoing a change in gender - the native word has survived in spite of the highly competitive Latin and French equivalents.

grið B is occasionally treated as masculine, probably under the influence of frid, with which it often forms a rhyme and is related in meaning;<sup>2</sup> cf. a pisse londe he heold grið/ a pisse londe he hulde frid 422/23-24.

zer B,L appears to be masculine in: mid þan feo sculden faren/ euer alcne zere 332/23, that is to say if we can accept the evidence of -ne as an unequivocal indication of the masculine gender.<sup>3</sup> In this case, the change is probably due to the influence of the masculine nouns winter or summor; an example of words with a similarity in meaning affecting one another as regards gender.<sup>4</sup> We may also argue that there has been no

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1. Cf. Morsbach, op. cit. p. 12: "Dagegen bei der Übertragung mittellateinischer Werke kommt in Betracht, dass lat. Neutrum nicht selten im Englischen durch das Masculinum wieder gegeben wird. Es beruht darauf, dass im Mittellateinischen und Vulgarlateinischen die Tendenz bestand, das Neutrum als Masculinum zu behandeln."

2. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 61.

3. Cf. p. 60.

4. Cf. also niht, pp. 163-64.

change in gender at all, but a transference of function of the ending -ne, which (as we have noted earlier) may have ceased to mark gender in constructions of time.<sup>1</sup> The same applies to the example occurring in the Legendary: pis was bene fourteope 3ere 190/27. But cf. to fizte ane 3er al 171/2264 (the asg. ane is normally used with nouns felt as non-neuter in this text).

spere B is once referred to by hine (ii.106/17), probably under the influence of the synonymous gare.<sup>2</sup>

suerd C is neuter in this text, as well as in B and L. Twice, however, it is referred to by the dsq. him (1141-42). In the absence of any other occurrences of the dsq. him with reference to neuter nouns in C (except those referring to child), we may assume that suerd is here used in a personified sense; hence the dsqm. him.

watur L. This is a somewhat doubtful case, since it is not quite clear whether him in the following passage refers to watur or St. Alban:

For þo þis holie Man to water cam : þat watur him with-drou3  
And ouer broke made ane wei : druy3e and clene i-nou3 69/65-66.

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1. See pp. 163, 164, 170.

2. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 61.

Whether him is a reflexive dative here or the accusative singular, we would not, normally, expect this form with a neuter noun. If it does refer to watur, the masculine gender in this single instance can only be due to personification; this is not surprising, since the context shows the water in action. But him here might possibly mean 'drew away from him', i.e. it may refer to St. Alban.

wunder B might have changed its gender owing to its final consonant, but the influence of Lat. miraculum or F miracle is not altogether impossible.

#### NEW FEMININES

##### From masculine nouns.

##### I. Complete change:

B : biȝete, bringe, freondscipe, monscipe

L : mone, stede, steorre, wimmon

C : wimman

##### II. Sporadic change:

B : ærde, sweore, wifmon, wurðescipe

L : bowe

C : sterre

ærde B, which is still probably masculine in Lazamon,<sup>1</sup> seems in the following example to be feminine: heo com to pere ferde/

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1. Unless it changed to neuter; see the Glossary and p.183, note 5.



þe icumen was to bissere ærde 213/9. The most likely reason for this apparent change is the influence of the feminine ferde in the preceding line. For although the scribe A often misspells d for ð,<sup>1</sup> this does not seem to be the case here, since an error of that kind would have involved a change in meaning of the word. The context makes it clear that the word meant is 'country, land', i.e. OE eard, m. and not 'earth, soil', i.e. OE eorþ(e), f. The confusion of genders, however, might have been facilitated by the existence of the feminine eorðe.<sup>2</sup>

bizete B became feminine presumably on account of the ending -e of the nominative singular, which, however, is a new development; cf. OE be-gēat.<sup>3</sup>

bouwe L appears to be both masculine and feminine, if one accepts the evidence of he as an indication of the masculine gender. The evidence of heo, however, corroborated by that of hire, makes it clear beyond doubt that there has been a

1. Cf. Hit iwerð pere/ swa hit deð iwere/ þ þeos zunge wiman/iwerð hire mid childe 12/6-9; also: seodðen 15/14; quad 30/17; beod 38/2 etc.

2. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 52, maintains that there has been no change either in this case or in the asg. þa arde 12370, since d is only a misspelling for ð.

3. Körner, op. cit. p. 23, takes the etymology of the noun to be OE \*biziet, n. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 61, takes the same view and says that the plural of this noun, as well as of breoste and bread came to be used as singular, thereby causing a change in gender.

change to the feminine gender, although the reason for the change is not clear. In view of the fact that the noun is still masculine in B, the change is presumably of a later date, and therefore hardly due to the ending -e. A comparison with Latin and French is also unfruitful in this case, the corresponding nouns being masculine in both (arcus, arc). There is, however, one more possibility; the noun might have become feminine on the analogy of the feminine arewe L with which it must often have been found together in the same context.<sup>1</sup>

bringe B probably became feminine for phonetic reasons, viz. owing to its ending in -e.

Freondscipe B, monscipe B, wurðescipe B and possibly other nouns in -scipe are treated as feminine in the Brut, except for a few survivals of masculine forms in the case of wurðescipe.<sup>2</sup> It is usually assumed that the change occurred owing to a final -e of such words; but it may also have been helped by an association with French feminine abstracts.<sup>3</sup>

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1. It may be noted that OE fla, f. was also feminine in B.
  2. These survivals cannot be dismissed as oversights of the scribe as Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, suggests, since apart from mine wurðscipe there is also one example of bene wurðescipe. See the Glossary.
  3. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 25.

mone L with its change from masculine to feminine presents a problem of much interest, mainly because there seem to be more than one possible explanations for this change. It may have occurred merely on account of its ending in -e,<sup>1</sup> in which case we should expect the change to have taken place before the time of the Brut. Another possible reason for the change may be in the analogy of sunne, f.<sup>2</sup> with which it must have often been used in the same context. In this case too one would expect that the change should have been in evidence in Lazamon;<sup>3</sup> for in the Legendary the noun sonne shows an uncertainty as to its gender and is sometimes treated as feminine as in OE, sometimes as masculine under French influence. If mone is still masculine in B, as Madden lists it, the change is then of a later date and probably due to the influence of Latin and French corresponding nouns, luna and la lune respectively.<sup>4</sup>

stede (steed) L is referred to by hir in this text; in the Brut it is treated as masculine. The change may be nothing more than an instance of natural gender.

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1. Cf. Glahn, op. cit. p. 18.

2. ibid.

3. Madden, however, gives its gender as masculine. No examples of this noun where the gender is identifiable occur in vol.1.

4. Cf. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 14.; also Morsbach, op. cit. p. 15.



sterre L, C probably owes its feminine gender to the influence of Lat. stella or F étoile.<sup>1</sup> The change is apparently late, since the noun is still masculine in the Brut and more often masculine than feminine in the Chronicle.<sup>2</sup> In the Legendary it appears to be only feminine.

sweore B is normally masculine and only occasionally appears to be feminine, probably owing to the ending -e.

wifmon B, L, C has changed from masculine to feminine under the influence of natural gender.<sup>3</sup>

#### From neuter nouns.

##### I. Complete change:

B : bihoue, breoste, genge, maine, temple, weolcne

L : maide, temple, wif

C : mayde

##### II. Sporadic change:

B : husting, inne, maiden, (kine)riche, rihte, wif,  
witte.

1. Cf. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 20; also Morsbach, op. cit. p. 14.

2. Ausbüttel makes no mention of sterre being masculine in C. Later MSS of the Chronicle, namely Trinity Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26, Bodleian Lib. Oxf. Digby 205, Univ. Lib. Camb. Ee 4.31, all read hure or hire in 3177,78, where our text reads him.

3. There is only one exception with the indefinite article: enne feire wimman 409/16, in which the noun appears to have retained its OE masculine gender.

It is noteworthy that the majority of these nouns which appear to have changed their gender from the neuter to the feminine end in -e. This fact alone may account for the change, especially because this -e is in most cases unhistorical. But other factors may in some cases have played a part in the process.

bihoue B may have become feminine on the analogy of the more or less synonymous noun neode.

breoste B probably changed its gender because its plural came to be regarded as singular.<sup>1</sup> Glahn suggests that:

"Als Ausgangspunkt für diesen Übertritt zum. Fem., sind jedenfalls die Kasus anzusehen, in denen im Frühmittelenglischen bei Verbindung mit dem Artikel usw. Formengleichheit mit einigen Kasus des Singulars des Fem. eintrat, wie z. B. gen. pl. ae. para brēosta me. pare breoste".<sup>2</sup>

The change seems to have started already in OE since some dictionaries give n. f. and m. as possible genders for this noun.<sup>3</sup>

The feminine gender therefore might have been inherited from OE, although the example occurring in vol. 111.98/13: forn a pan breoste<sup>4</sup> suggests that the change has not been completed by the time of the Brut.

1. See Körner, op. cit. p. 24; also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 61.

2. N. v. Glahn, op. cit. p. 15.

3. See Bosworth-Toller, Clark Hall, Holthausen. Sweet gives only n. and m.

4. Cited by Körner, op. cit. p. 24.

geŋge B changed to the feminine probably on account of the final -e.

husting B, according to Hoffmann,<sup>1</sup> became feminine under the influence of nouns with which it formed a rhyme. It is, however, possible that it became feminine by analogy with -ing (OE -ung) nouns, independently of any rhyme influence. For OE -ung nouns are feminine in gender.

inne B is a somewhat doubtful case. For the example: to bare cinhtene (sic) inne 142/9, may perhaps be interpreted as the genitive plural, i.e. bare cnihtene or as the dsgef., i.e. to bare ... inne as Körner<sup>2</sup> interprets it. Cf. to pan inne 11. 149/5.

mæiden B, maide L, mayde C. Mæiden is still grammatically neuter in B, that is to say, the words in apposition to it follow the neuter declension; e.g. Oft was pen mæiden wa 131/23; pa luuede he a maide 12/3. The high frequency of pat with this noun in L and C, even in circumstances where there seems to be no need for a demonstrative, suggests that it may have remained neuter in these texts also. But in each of the three texts it is always referred to by the feminine forms of the third singular personal pronoun.

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1. op. cit. 61.

2. op. cit. p. 23.



main B, on the evidence of pina, appears to have changed its gender to feminine. This being the only example in vol. 1., we cannot be sure that the change really occurred. The form pina may have been used under the influence of pine with the noun streng<sup>1</sup> in the preceding line. On the other hand, the example: mid muchelere maine B 62/20 (where the A text reads: mid muchele streng<sup>e</sup>), may suggest that there was some confusion as to the gender of this noun.<sup>1</sup>

(kine)riche B, rihte B on more than one line of evidence show the change to be sporadic only; side by side with the forms characteristic of the new feminine gender, distinctive neuter forms are also found with these nouns.<sup>2</sup> The change seems to be due to the final -e.<sup>3</sup>

temple B, L has undergone a complete change of gender except for one single occurrence where hit is used with reference to it in the Brut.<sup>4</sup> This change might have occurred on purely formal grounds, viz. owing to the ending -e (from the plural -u),<sup>5</sup> but it could also be due to an association with church.

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1. Since the asg. pine is not an altogether unambiguous indication of the feminine gender, this noun has not been included in the figures given in the tables on p. 137.

2. See p. 148.

3. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 23; also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60.

4. See pp. 148-49.

5. Cf. Glahn, op. cit. p. 13.

The form temple (cf. OE tempel) may also result from French influence, though the masculine gender of OF temple has not been adopted.

weolcne B probably became feminine on account of its final -e, which developed from the plural -u.<sup>1</sup>

wif remains grammatically neuter in B and probably in L,<sup>2</sup> but under the influence of natural gender it is always referred to by the feminine forms of the third singular personal pronoun.

witte B may have become feminine because of its ending in -e, though the change may have occurred as a result of an association with Lat. sciencia.<sup>3</sup>

#### NEW NEUTERS

A certain number of originally masculine and feminine nouns used in the Brut appear to have changed their gender to neuter. This is not to say that they have lost their gender, since a feeling for grammatical gender is undoubtedly alive in Lazamon. It seems reasonable therefore to regard such cases as

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1. Cf. Glahn, op. cit. p. 13.

2. The use of pat with this noun is very frequent even in contexts where there seems to be no reason for the use of a deictic.

3. Cf. Glahn, op. cit. p. 13.

examples of changes in gender rather than of loss of it.<sup>1</sup>

This, however, should be said with certain reservations, for there are difficulties in interpreting the criteria for neuter gender. Unless the noun in question is both referred to by hit and occurs with the relevant neuter forms of the definite article and other appositional words, we cannot be sure that we are dealing with a genuine change in gender.

There are only a few nouns for which there is more than one line of evidence for neuter gender available. They are:

anlicness (OE f.). It is preceded by the asg. h and referred to by hit, thus providing adequate evidence for neuter gender. The suggestion that hit in 49/6 may have been influenced by the gender of liche in the preceding line,<sup>2</sup> need not be taken seriously.

foreward (OE f.) occurs with the nsg. hat, asg. his and dsg. bon. There is therefore little doubt that there has been a change in gender, though the reason is not clear. A vague association with the neuter word may perhaps be the explanation for this change.

leode (OE f.) is preceded by the asg. hat, dsg. bon, gsg. bisses and is referred to by hit. But whether or not we should regard these as indications of a change in gender,

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1. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 60 and 68; Glahn, op. cit. p. 25.

2. Cf. Hoffmann, ibid. p. 63.



depends on whether we should read leode as the A text has or as lond, which is the reading of the B text in most of these cases. E.g. A: þat he heom wolde leaden/ out of þane leoden (B vt of þan londe) 16/11; þa isæh þisses ledes king (B: þa isah þis londes king) 412/2; Feowerti wintre he walde þes leode/ a blisse hit stod on his hand ( Fourti 3er he held þis lond/ ine blisse in his hond) 182/19-20. It may be safe to assume, therefore, that even if there had been a change in the gender of leode (which is still normally treated as feminine), the probable reason for it was an analogy with the neuter lond.

A correct interpretation of the significance of hit in reference to an originally non-neuter noun is difficult, even impossible, when other evidence is not available. As we have seen, we may in such cases be dealing with early examples of inanimate gender; sporadic cases appear of course already in OE where nouns which in all other respects are clearly masculine or feminine are sometimes referred to by hit. It may be advisable, therefore, to treat all such cases as at least possible examples of the loss of grammatical gender.<sup>1</sup>

Difficulties also arise with those historically non-neuter nouns which occur with the form þat. For this form, though normally the neuter of the definite article, can by this date sometimes be a deictic, used regardless of the gender of the noun.

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1. See p. 184 ff.

In view of these uncertainties, there is little ground for deducing neuter gender from evidence suggested by an accompanying þat unless it is supplied on other grounds.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore merely call attention here to a number of historically non-neuter nouns which are accompanied once or more times by þat in what at least may be its definite article function.<sup>2</sup> The nouns in question are: clærscipe (once), comp (once), hired (twice), seil-clæð (once), wæl<sup>2</sup> (once); all these are originally masculine nouns, but aside from accompaniment by þat, and in some cases by the dative singular þon (comp, hired), there is no evidence for their gender in *Lazamon*.<sup>3</sup>

In addition there are a few nouns which, on other evidence, are still clearly non-neuter, at least some of the time, but which are recorded with þat. They are: ferde, f. (once), hauene, f. (once), niht, f. (once), tur, m. f. (once), wifmon, f. (once), winter, m. (twice) and world, f. (once).<sup>4</sup> It may ultimately turn out that evidence from other texts will suggest whether such accompaniment by þat is in any of these cases to be considered as likely evidence for neuter gender.<sup>5</sup>

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1. This is not to say that we cannot use þat alone, if it is used as an article, as offering some evidence for the survival of the neuter gender of a historically neuter noun.
  2. For a discussion of the form þat in these cases see also pp. 23-24 and 26 ff., where citations are also given.
  3. Note that other OE masculine nouns in -scipe are normally feminine in the *Brut*.
  4. Cf. for þan weorldeas scone 20/3. But this may be also gsgm.
  5. On the evidence of the asg. þis (which is normally found only with neuter nouns), ærde (OE m.) and ensware (OE f.) seem to have changed into neuter.

## LOSS OF GRAMMATICAL GENDER

It remains to consider cases where a loss of grammatical gender seems to be in evidence; it has already been pointed out that the loss of grammatical gender is not the same thing as a change to neuter grammatical gender.<sup>1</sup> In the period with which we are concerned all distinguishing forms of neuter grammatical gender are ceasing to mark this gender unambiguously because they are acquiring new functions. For example, although possibly still marking neuter grammatical gender when used as the definite article with historically neuter nouns, the form pat is also used as a deictic irrespective of gender. Moreover, a form like the demonstrative pis is a generalized form used in all cases; it no longer distinguishes gender. The same is true of the form a(an) of the indefinite article.

The third singular personal pronoun hit continues in some measure to mark grammatical neuter gender, but it is more and more frequently used in its new function of indicating the inanimateness of objects denoted by the noun to which it refers. Occurrences of hit with reference to historically masculine or feminine inanimates should therefore be regarded as signs of the appearance of overtly marked natural gender;

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1. Cf. p. 180.



such occurrences do not necessarily signify a complete loss of grammatical gender in a given noun. The replacement of grammatical gender by natural gender is a gradual process; in the period of transition a noun may sometimes appear with the forms characteristic of its grammatical gender and sometimes with forms characteristic of natural gender.

In cases where natural gender replaces grammatical gender, in other words where historically non-neuter nouns are referred to by hit, the following three situations may be distinguished:<sup>1</sup>

a) where the evidence of hit conflicts with the evidence about gender provided by the appositional kind of criteria;

b) where the evidence of hit is in conflict with the evidence of he or heo with reference to nouns not denoting persons;

c) where the evidence of hit in reference to historically masculine and feminine nouns denoting things is the only evidence available. This, of course, may merely be due to an accidental absence of any other kind of criteria for gender.

The following are the cases where hit refers to nouns that on the evidence of the appositional criteria for gender are established as masculine or feminine:

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1. Such cases where the evidence of hit is in conflict with the historical gender of a noun but is corroborated by other forms characteristic of neuter gender are not considered here, but are dealt with in the section on changes in gender; cf. p. 181.

In the Brut:

m. : æð (þene, -ne);<sup>1</sup> cristendom (-ne); feond (enne);  
gare (þene, enne); mete (þene); stude (-ne); wille  
 (asg. þine).<sup>2</sup>

f. : æhte (asg. þa); Bruttene (-re); sibbe (-re); speke  
 (-re); temple (asg. ane, -re);<sup>3</sup> Troye (asg. ane).

In the Legendary:

m. : beiz (þane, asg. ane); bowe (asg. ane); breth (þane);  
deað (þene); feld (asg. ane); gost (þene); mete (þene,  
 minne); mist (þene); put (þane, asg. ane); staf (þane);  
stan (þane, asg. ane); tun (þene); wei (þane, nanne,  
 alne); worn (asg. ane).

In the Chronicle:

m. : stude (þen); tun (þen).

In the following instances the evidence of hit con-  
 flicts with the evidence of masculine and feminine forms of  
 the personal pronoun.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The occurrence of the asg. an in 30/21, together with hit in 30/22 may indicate a change in gender. But the form an may have a purely phonetic explanation.
  2. No numerical account of occurrences of forms is attempted here. For references see the Glossary.
  3. The form hit with reference to temple occurs only once; the noun is feminine in Lazamon but neuter in OE; cf. pp. 148-49.
  4. For tables showing the number of gender-distinctive forms that are in conflict with natural gender, see Moore, S. op. cit. pp. 97-98.

In the Brut:

mhte (heo); mete (hine); Rome (heore, hire).

In the Legendary:

bowe (he; heo, hire); coppe (heo, hire); deað (hine);  
eorþe (heo); fisc (he, him);<sup>1</sup> gost (he); georde (heo,  
 hire); heuene (hire; him); put (he); rym-forst (he);  
staf (hine, he); stan (his, hyne); sunne<sup>1</sup> (heo, hire;  
 him); worm (is, him).

In the Chronicle:

chirche (asg. is; ir; him, he); stude (him); tun (he).

No other evidence is available for the following nouns  
 except the evidence of hit:

In the Brut:

axe (OE f.); biheste (OE heh̄as, f.; cf. behāt, n.)

In the Legendary:

OE m.: bov3, clob, cristindom, drinc, hurst, rug, smul,  
song, sak, thought.

OE f.: \*anletnesse, blessingue, \*childingue, gistningue,  
 \*leitunge, lesingue, lightingue, love, reste, sihte.

In the Chronicle:

OE m.: cristendom, ofsprenge, sceld, wind.

OE f.: eax, vorewarde, hebenesse, mansingue.

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1. Hit in 232/462 refers to fish when cooked.



## NOUNS OF OLD FRENCH ORIGIN

We have already seen that the gender of a native noun can sometimes be changed under the influence of the gender of the corresponding French noun.<sup>1</sup> It remains now to examine how nouns of OF origin are treated in our texts with respect to gender. In the tables given below all the relevant nouns of OF origin are included whose gender is identifiable. The criteria on which the following results are based are the same as those used with nouns of OE origin.<sup>2</sup> The situation as regards the gender of OF nouns is as follows:

Masculine nouns:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OF m.</u> | <u>OF f.</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| B | 3            | 3            | -            | 3            |
| L | 11           | 5            | 6            | 11           |
| C | 6            | 4            | 2            | 6            |
|   | <u>20</u>    |              |              | <u>20</u>    |

Feminine nouns:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OF f.</u> | <u>OF m.</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| B | 2            | 2            | -            | 2            |
| L | 12           | 10           | 2            | 12           |
| C | 5            | 4            | 1            | 4            |
|   | <u>19</u>    |              |              | <u>19</u>    |

Neuter nouns:

|   | <u>total</u> | <u>OF m.</u> | <u>OF f.</u> | <u>total</u> |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| B | 17           | -            | 17           | 17           |
| L | 33           | 15           | 18           | 33           |
| C | 14           | 5            | 9            | 14           |
|   | <u>48</u>    |              |              | <u>48</u>    |

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1. See p. 156 ff.

2. See p. 135.

## I. RETENTION OF GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

Masculine nouns:

B kalender  
mahum  
mantel

L maumet  
menbre  
poynt  
sauter  
tempest

C dragon  
ordre  
ost  
truage

The above three nouns in the Brut occur with the unequivocal masculine forms of the definite and indefinite article.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these three, the following more doubtful cases might also be added: flum, ginne and lac. They are all found with what appear to be dative singular forms of the definite and indefinite article. There is little doubt that the example with ginne (of pan ufele gin-nen 57/7) is in the dative; on this evidence the noun could be either masculine or neuter. In the examples of flum and lac, however, we may be dealing with a shorter variant of the asgm. form of the definite and indefinite article. For in both cases the seemingly dative form follows the preposition ouer and may therefore in fact be accusative; the examples are: ouer Maluan ene flum (B: ouer Maluan pane flom) 55/17, and: ouer pen lac 54/21-22.

In the Legendary the noun tempest is referred to by the third singular pronoun he in 316/580. It appears therefore to have masculine gender. This had already in OF replaced the original feminine gender of the noun. Cf. OED.

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1. For the examples illustrating the gender or genders of all nouns discussed here, see the Glossary.

On the evidence of he, 9085 in the Chronicle, ordre seems to have retained its original masculine gender;<sup>1</sup> on the same evidence (i.e. he 8322) the noun ost appears to be masculine; it was either masculine or feminine in OF. We should not perhaps make too much of this because, as already pointed out, the form he is not a certain indication of gender.<sup>2</sup> It shows anyhow that the noun is either masculine or feminine, and strongly suggests that it is masculine.

Feminine nouns.

B arche  
tur

L abbeize  
chartre  
croce  
croiz  
feste  
lettre  
penaunce  
reule  
tounge  
ymage

C chartre  
court  
croiz  
ymage

Despite a possible descent in some cases from the OE word,<sup>3</sup> arche is almost certainly of French origin. There is always the possibility, however, that the feminine gender it has descends from OE earc(e), from Latin arca. There is no doubt that the noun tur has two genders in the Brut; the masculine is a continuation of the OE gender, and the feminine, which is the more frequent of the two, is from OF.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cf. p. 193.

2. See pp. 120, 124, 146.

3. Cf. OED, s.v. \*arche.

4. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 63, alleges that the noun is only feminine in the Brut.



All the above nouns of OF origin which appear to have retained their original feminine gender in the Legendary are established as feminine on the evidence of the form heo. In the case of some this is corroborated by examples of the oblique cases of the same pronoun and the form as in the accusative singular.

In the Chronicle, unless a noun is also referred to by the third singular personal pronoun in some case other than the nominative (e.g. chartre - by the asg. is in l. 10506), the establishing of its gender is difficult, because the form he is used in reference both to originally masculine and originally feminine nouns.<sup>1</sup> Croiz is normally feminine in the Legendary; the form he by which it is referred to at one point in the Chronicle (l. 1931) may be taken as a variant of heo; it does not seriously call in question the feminine gender of the noun.<sup>2</sup> The same may be true of court and of ymage which are referred to by he in 1223<sup>3</sup> and 329<sup>4</sup>.

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1. See p. 120 f.

2. Körner, op. cit. p. 42, attributes the retention of grammatical gender in this case to personification and for the same reason alleges that there has been a change to masculine, croiz being vaguely associated with Christ. The example reads: so pat he was per i-founde.

3. According to Körner, ibid. p. 43, the use of he referring to court is again due to personification, the poet seeing in court a company of (male) advisers to the king.

4. The noun ymage is feminine in the Legendary; but cf. to pane ymage 253/452.

## II. CHANGES IN GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

### New masculines.

There seem to be no changes from the original gender in OF nouns occurring in the Brut, not at least on the evidence contained in the first volume.

In the Legendary there are a few cases where a change in the original gender seems to have taken place; e.g. beste is otherwise treated as neuter, but in one instance a gsg. is, which is normally used only of masculine nouns, refers to it (278/8); in any case the noun is apparently not feminine as it was in OF; prison is used with the asgm. bane in 460/133, otherwise with bat (which may be a deictic) as in 38/152; robe is used with the asgm. ban in 116/324; roche is referred to by he in 234/522, the change, if it is one, occurring perhaps by analogy with stone; tourn is referred to by hine in 304/176; ymage, which is otherwise established as feminine, is once referred to by he and in the same line preceded by the dag. bane. The example reads: to bane ymage he wende a-non : ase he bi pe walle stod, 253/452.

In the Chronicle the noun cite is referred to by he and him in l. 8477, thus showing that there has been a genuine change in gender, probably under the influence of OE masculine nouns tun and castel. The noun launce is referred to by him

in l. 3618, probably because of personification. The example reads:

In is riȝt hond is launce he nom . þat was icluped Ron  
long & gret & strong ynou . him ne mizte at sitte non.

MS Trinity Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26, however, has hure here.

### New feminine nouns.

Here, again, there are no changes in gender in the nouns occurring in the Brut.

In the Legendary the noun saume is referred to by heo in 355/341. This may only be a variant form of he, especially since the noun is masculine in Anoren Riwe (hesne psalm 30 - OED), retaining there the same gender that it had in OF and also as OE sealm. The noun ordre, on the other hand, has undoubtedly changed to feminine, since the evidence of heo in 59/177 is confirmed by the asgf. form as in 60/235.

In the Chronicle the noun aumperie is twice referred to by the asg. form is in 4055-6, possibly under the influence of Rome, since it is used in the sense of the Empire of Rome.

### III. LOSS OF GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

Only one noun seems to have lost its gender, or become neuter, in the Brut. This is the OF feminine noun male



which in the accusative singular is used with the form a of the indefinite article ( a male riche 150/23 ). This, of course, may merely be an uninflected form, but in any case it would signify a loss of gender.

In the Legendary and the Chronicle 33 and 14 nouns respectively are referred to by hit. Some of them, for instance abbelze and lettre, are also referred to by the gender-distinctive forms of the third singular personal pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

The results obtained in the preceding analysis of nouns of OF origin testify to a linguistic feeling for gender in the texts under consideration, for - to a greater or smaller extent - these nouns are used with, or are referred to, by gender-distinctive forms in each of them.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time these results show that the gender system is no longer in full operation. Many nouns are not used in connection with distinctively masculine or feminine forms, but are referred to by the form hit, which in such cases marks natural gender.

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1. For a list of these nouns see Appendix II.

2. Interesting for the linguistic feeling for gender is the fact that a number of OF nouns are used with the asg. form ane in the Legendary. This form in practically all cases is used only with nouns felt as non-neuter (see pp. 112-114). Such nouns are not, however, included in the tables, since the form does not enable us to distinguish between masculine and feminine gender, but they may be listed here: OF masculines: cofre, ensaample, ginne, mantel, peire, sege, signe; OF feminines: chaiere, folie, fourme, goute, grace, partie, perche, place, rente, summe, table and yle. Cf. batayle in C. For actual citations see the Glossary.

## NOUNS OF OLD NORSE ORIGIN

I have noted only five nouns of ON origin for which there is evidence about gender in these texts. They are: bole (ON m.), bone (ON f.), crone (ON f.), leg (ON m.) and tiðende (OE n. pl.). They all seem to retain their original gender. Bole occurs in the Legendary and is referred to by the masculine forms of the personal pronoun hine and him, and is used with the form ane in the accusative singular. Bone occurs with the form ane in the accusative singular and is therefore probably feminine and certainly not neuter in the Legendary. The noun crone occurs in all three texts; in the Brut it is referred to by heo; in the Legendary it is preceded in the accusative by the form ane; in the Chronicle it is referred to by is in the accusative singular (where MS Trin.Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26 reads hure). In 6599 it is referred to by he which -as we have seen- is probably only a variant of heo and which is what MS Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26 reads. The gender of the ON noun corresponds to the gender the noun has in OF (corone) and Latin (corona), and its survival may have been helped by this circumstance. The noun leg occurs in the Legendary preceded by the asgm. forms panne and pane. The noun tiðende which in ON was only plural, appears to be singular and neuter in the Brut, since it occurs with the form pat in the singular. As in early ME in general, this noun can be either singular or plural in the Brut; cf. OED.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusions reached from this investigation have been presented at appropriate points in the thesis. It may be worth while, however, to present here some of the main points which have emerged.

The results obtained in this investigation of grammatical gender in early Middle English clearly show the extent to which the preservation of gender depended on the preservation of case.

In the Brut the case system is almost the same as in OE, except for nouns. As a result of a phonological falling together of all end vowels to -e, the distinction between the cases of a noun is no longer clearly marked. Strong adjectives and adjectivally used pronouns, as well as the third singular personal pronoun, have in non-prepositional use, with very few exceptions, the same declensional system as in OE. After prepositions, the syncretism of the oblique cases is noticeable in adjectives, articles, demonstratives and possessives. The third singular personal pronouns show a complete syncretism of the dative and the accusative case in such circumstances. These case forms, whether syncretised or not, at the same time preserve gender distinctions.

Apart from these forms, an 'uninflected' form (used regardless of both case and gender) is occasionally also to be



found; e.g. be, a(n), bi(n) and bie (in cases other than the *asg.* where it appears still to mark neuter gender). In addition, some forms are beginning to perform a double function. The form pat in its definite article function continues to mark neuter gender in the nominative and the accusative singular; sometimes, however, it appears to be used as a deictic regardless of case and gender. The third singular pronoun hit in addition to its old function of indicating neuter grammatical gender, is sometimes used with reference to originally masculine or feminine nouns to indicate natural gender. This, however, is not a completely new function, since even in OE personal pronouns were sometimes used in conflict with grammatical gender of the antecedent, owing to the operation of natural gender.

In spite of these new tendencies, grammatical gender continues to be marked in much the same way as in OE and the gender of a great number of nouns is still unambiguously indicated. In some nouns, however, the gender they have in the Brut is not the same as the gender they had in OE. It is only to be expected that there would be some changes and confusions in gender in a transitional period. But these changes should not be taken as an argument against grammatical gender in the Brut, since - as we have seen - changes in gender often take place even in languages which continue to possess grammatical gender.

In the Legendary and the Chronicle, the processes which started in the Brut are almost completed. Except for the asgm. forms pan(e) and occasional adjectival -ne, nearly all other case forms are reduced to one form only; another exception in the Legendary is the accusative ane which is normally used with originally masculine or feminine nouns, but the form no longer implies distinctions of gender. Apart from the above mentioned overt signs of masculine gender, since the form pat is more and more used in its function of a deictic, there is no longer anything about the form of the noun or its qualifiers to help the transmission of gender from one generation to another.

Except for the overt designations of the masculine in the accusative singular, the indication of gender falls completely on the third singular personal pronouns he : heo : hit and their forms in the oblique cases. In the majority of cases where he or heo are used in conflict with the natural gender of the antecedent, we may assume that it is an indication of grammatical gender; in some cases it may be due to personification. The frequency of the cases in which hit conflicts with the original gender of the antecedent points to the fact that its function of marking natural gender by this time prevails over its function of marking grammatical gender.

The loss of grammatical gender is clearly due to a combination of processes. The causes of this loss are primarily to be sought in the same forces which caused phonological and, consequently, morphological changes. It is also due to a transition from a notion of grammatical (masculine, feminine, neuter) gender, to a notion of animacy (male, female) as against inanimacy. The present day 'neuter' gender in English, is therefore not a descendant of the OE and early ME neuter grammatical gender. If that had been the case, we should expect to have today two forms of the definite article, viz. the for animates and that for inanimates.

It is usually assumed that grammatical gender died out about 1250. Evidence contained in our texts shows that, at least in the South West Midland area represented by these texts, grammatical gender lingered on until the first quarter of the fourteenth century.



Part III

Glossary

This Glossary is intended to give all the nouns occurring with gender-distinctive forms in the three texts under consideration. It does not aim at being exhaustive as regards the actual number of occurrences of such forms; its purpose is rather to give a picture of the gender of a given noun on the evidence (wherever that is possible) of examples illustrative of various criteria whose validity has been attested in Part I of this work. For only on the basis of such cumulative evidence can the gender of a noun be established beyond doubt.

On the whole, doubtful and uncommon forms (which have been discussed in Part I) are not included here. But an exception is made of cases in which a particular form is firmly established as a criterion for one gender and one only, though appearing occasionally with a noun otherwise established as having a different gender. Such cases are marked by ?, since we cannot be sure whether such a form indicates the gender it would seem to or is used erroneously (cf. erde, f?). If two sets of forms appear more or less regularly with a noun, it is assumed that the noun has two genders. Citations containing examples with the dsgm/n. forms in the Brut are given in order to show that the noun in question is not feminine in gender. Occurrences of the asg. ane and mine in the Legendary are included to show that the noun they are used with is felt as non-neuter.

Examples of þat in the Legendary and the Chronicle are not included because of the possibility of its being used as a deictic rather than the definite article. Occurrences of hit (where they conflict with the original gender or the other kinds of evidence) are bracketed since they do not necessarily imply neuter grammatical gender.

Since we are concerned here with grammatical gender, nouns denoting persons have been omitted, except in a few cases, such as bearn, maide, wif and wimman, whose grammatical gender was at variance with their natural gender.

The source of forms and examples is marked by: B for Lazamon's Brut; L for The Early South-English Legendary; C for The Metrical Chronicle of Robert Gloucester. Examples from B and L are cited by page and verse; those from C by verse only. If not otherwise marked, examples from B are from vol. 1, which alone has been examined extensively. Examples have been taken from vols 11 and 111 only in cases where vol. 1. did not provide unequivocal or sufficient evidence.



abbeyze L (OF *abeie*, f.) abbey

f. : for heore soulene he as liet a-rere 73/99; heore  
zat 264/122; ane Abbeyze he liet a-rere 73/97.

acord L (OF *acorde*, f.) agreement

[n.] : to speken more of þe a-cord: 3if he it mizte a-mende  
156/1738.

æ B (OE *ēa*, f.) river, stream

f. : at Cristes chirche heo falled i þare æ 106/10;  
in are swiðe feire æ 60/2.

æhte B (OE *æht*, f.) treasure; possessions, property

f. : & þu þas æhte on-fo/... and 3ef þu heo þus dalest  
153/2; for to habben al þa æhte 94/18.

[n.] : ne of his æhte 3erne/ buten he hit 3euen him wulle  
254/2.

æie B (OE *ege*, m.) awe, dread

m. : þurh þene muchelne æie ii.252/10; & summe heo fluzen  
to Irlonde/ for þan æie of Gurmunde iii.162/20. [Cf.  
þa hædedon heo þa mære æie 235/11].

æt-lond, eit-lond B (cf. OE *īgland*, n.) island

(*and iegol n.*)

n. : hit 48/11; Logice hatte þat eit-lond 48/5; heo funden  
i þon eit-londe 48/21; we beoð in ane eit-londe 313/20.

ælde, halde B (OE *ieldu*, f.) age, old age

f. : ic eam for mire ældde 127/1 swpe vnbaldd; for mire  
halde 134/20.

answare B (OE *and-swaru*, f.) answer

n? : & seide hēm þis answare 188/13.

ærde, æarde B (OE eard, m.) native soil, country

m? : heo senden ouer al þan ærde 166/22; of moni ane  
æarde 218/24.

n? : þe king he bi-tahte þis ard 11.138/22.

f? : heo com to þere ferde/ þe ioumen wes to þissere  
æarde 213/9. [cf. and sende 3eond þas ærde 273/4].

ærn B, ern L (OE earn, m.) eagle

B : m. : þat an muchel ærn spec/ a þon castle þer he set 120/7.

L : m. : And gyt he mot nede, to resten him : a-gein to  
grounde teo 412/348; is wyngene 407/164.

æð, að, oað B, oþ L, C (OE āþ, m.) oath

B : m. : bi-lef þene æð 185/10; & swar muchelne oað 28/17;  
ænne að þer he swor 11.415/6.

[n.]: Brutus him swar an æð 30/21; breken þat hit nælde 30/22.

L : m. : And swer þene oþþ 163/1989.

C : m. : þe oþ þat to king aureli . hi suore biuore.

Hi þohte þe he was ded . þat he were al uor lore. 3238;  
þen oþ to holde eþon 9153.

æðel B (OE ēþel, m. n. ) country, land

n. : heo weoren swiðe ehte men/ þat æðel heo bi-wunnen  
(B þane felde) 202/13; and nomen eft Elidur/ & duden  
hine to his ađðelen/ heuen hine to kinge/ mid hægere  
blisse/ and hit ane stunde 289/18 stod on him seolue.

æðelen B (OE æðelo, æðelu, f. n.) nobility

f. : þe þa æðelen sulden habben 159/18.

anletnesse L (from anlet + ness; cf. ON andlit, n.) likeness

[n.]: For 3wane men peynitiez an Anletnesse : 3e ne seoth  
it nou3t bi-leued 167/2127 þat þere nis depeint a  
 Roundel.

anlicnes B (OE onlicnes, f.) likeness, image

n. : þer inne was an onlicnesse/ a wifmonnes liche/  
 Teier hit wes & awide heih 49/6; heo wurdeden þ  
 anlicnes 50/1.

appel L, C (OE æppel, espl, m.) apple

L : m. : þane Appel of nam 5/139; Ane Appel þare-of he nam  
 7/217.

C : m. : & þe bowes of þe on appel . smite þe oþer vaste.  
 So harde þat he vel adoun . in þe water atte laste.  
 5749; þat þe ones bou smit . þen oþer adoun...5758.

arm C (OE earm, m.) arm

m. : Oþer he smot of þen arm . oþer hond oþer heued. 402.

arche B (OF arche, f.; cf. OE earc(e) f.; arc, m.) ark

f. : of þere arche weoren icumen 382/13.

arewe, aruwe L (OE arewe, arwe, f.) arrow

f. : heo 229/338; Ake þis Arewe tornede euene a-3ein :  
 to him þat hire schet 300/21.

asse L (OE assa, m.) donkey, he-ass cf. asse(n), f. she-ass

m. : Nabe heo neuere so luyte mete : is trauail nis no  
 þe lasse 61/247.

aunperye C (OF empire, m.) empire (of Rome)

f. : Wanne hi1 vorsoke is & vorslewede... 4055.

þe we þoru chiualerie.out of hor poer is nome 4056.



axe B (of. æsce, f.) demand

[n.]: Eouer axe ich eou leue/ loð þeh hit me were 45/14.

bach B (v. Kurath: OE bæc, bece, m.; bece cannot be the direct ancestor, and it is the only form Sweet gives) valley  
m/n?: ferde æfter ane bache 33/2.

bær B, bere, bor C (OE bār, m.) boar

B : m. : swa bið þa wilde bær/ wenne hundes hine bistondeð  
72/16.

C : m. : Vor þe bor of cornewaile . ssal helpe þis londe.  
& þe saxons newen . vnder is fet to trede 2804.  
Many yles winne he ssal . lond & oper stude 2805.  
Ac þe dragon velde þulke bere . & to grounde him  
caste 4145.

balew, balu B (OE bealo, n.) bale, woe, harm, evil

n. : & þat balu mæinde 11.320/1; muchel balu habben 314/11.  
m. : þe þane balew mæinde 184/12; & þesne balu mæinde  
11.316/16.

baru C (OE bearg, bearh, m.) pig

m. : ... & adde . an vatte barn (sic) ynome.  
& yspited him þoru out.mid an yrene .spite 4213.

bataille L, C (OF bataille, f.) battle

L :[n.]: A wonder bataille it was on : hadde it longe i-last  
426/188.

C : f? : & mette hom & ane batayle smite vpe assesdoun 5312;  
hii smite þer an bataile 269.

bearn B (OE bearn, n.) child

n. : þat bearn nas nowit feie 13/21.

beiz L (OE *bēag*, m.) ring; a piece of jewelry, a treasure

m. : Of is fader guode a nyzt:ane beiz of gold he nam  
241/33; he com and fond pane beiz of gold : pat  
seint Nicholas hadde i-brouzt 241/38.

[n.] : par-of he was glad i-nouzt:pei he nuste ho it brouzte  
241/39.

best L (OF *beste*, f.) beast, animal

[n.] : for it spak a-zein kuynde 256/15.

m. : For pat wilde best so spack : and for wordes pat  
he sede (him bi-gan wondri) 256/14; And pat best  
bar rikt in is Mouth ... 278/8.

biȝete B (OE *be-gēat*, m.[Clark Hall], n.[Sweet] ) gain

f. : for pere muchele biȝete 26/20; mid baldere biȝete  
111.78/20.

biheste B (OE *bihās*, f.; cf. OE *behāt*, n.) promise

[n.] : He bi-heihte hire biheste/ & he hit wel laste 54/6.

bihoue B (OE *behōf*, n.) behoof, need, use v. Clark Hall

f. : bide heo to pire bi-houe 187/2; he pohte heo habben  
to his awere bihoue 194/23.

blase B (OE *blāse*, *blase*, f.; cf. OE *blysa*, m.; also OE *blās*,  
*blāst*, both m.) blaze, flame

m. : in pere temple he lette beornen/ enne blase of fure  
121/16.

blessingue L (OE *blētsung*, f.) blessing

[n.] : ech Monek scholde operes blessingue aſongue:and  
euerech to opur it ȝiue 264/126.

blisse B, L (OE bliss, f.) bliss, joy

B : f. : for bere muchele blisse 408/17; vnder bissere  
blisse 104/13; mid muchelere blisse 89/10.

L : f? : And sethþe mine blisse of heouene : with-uten  
ende a-fongue 363/34.

blod L (OE blōd, n.) blood

n. : it 18/569.

boc B, L (OE bōc, f.) book

B : f. : hoe 3/6; he nom þa Englisca boc 2/19; & a bere  
AEnglisce boc ii.27/10 he is ihaten Wale-broc;  
& þa pre boc/ þrumde to are 3/18.

L : f. : with þim he hadde as þer 28/59; (bi-tok) ane bok  
281/105.

m. : þe bok was i-closed faste to : seint Fraunceis  
hine gan vndo 58/158.

bodi L (OE bodig, n.) body

n. : it 31/67.

bold L (OE bold, n.) building, house, mansion

n. : it 378/64.

bole L (ON boli, m.) bull

m. : hine 300/16; atþe laste he him fond 300/18; ane  
bole þov schalt þare finde 303/115.

bone L (ON bōn, f.) boon, request

f? : graunti him ane bone 357/40.

bord B, L (OE bord; n.) board, table

B : n. : þat beord ii.540/12; to þan borde forð rihtes ii.  
540/20; at þine borde gunnen fihte ii.539/9.

L : n. : hit 329/219.



boruz L (OE borg, borh, m.) loan, borrowed money

m. : he ne miȝte finden him nanneboruz 249/328.

bouȝ, bovȝ L (OE bōg, bōh, m. ) arm, bough

[n.]: and nam þar-of a bovȝ/...and toward him it drovȝ  
59/187.

boȝe, bowe B, bouwe L (OE boga, m.) bow

B : m. : & þene bowe igreap 62/19; he leadde an his bonde/  
enne bowe stronge 62/8.

L : m? : "Biend þine bouwe"...to loko ȝwat he can do 412/329;  
Ane bouwe ich bere 412/327.

f. : "For, ȝif ich hiȝe bere longue i-bend : þe feblore  
heo wolle beo 412/335.

[n.]: þis ȝongue Man nam and bende is bouwe : and bar it  
longue so 412/330.

box C (OE box, m. n. ) box

m. : þe box þat heng ek ouer þe weued.Mid godes fless  
& is blod.  
þe streng brac & he vel adoun.such signe nas noȝt  
god 9353.

brand B, brond B, L (OE brand, m.) brand, sword

B : m. : Euelin þene brond igrap/ mid grimliche lechen/  
& braid hine of þere sceðe 349/6-8; þe ȝunge mon  
heold on þis hond/ enne stelene brond 349/5.

L : m? : And þat best bar in is Mouth : ane berninde brond 278/8.

bred L (OE brēad, n.) bread

n. : it 162/1958; hit 162/1959.

breste, breoste, broste B (OE brēost, n.m.f.) breast

f. : and for-bat him þa breste 277/8; & ihitte his aȝene

breeste (cont.)

f. : fader/ þur ut þere broste 14/15; vt of þire breoste  
11.239/6.

n? : and smat þene eorl Beduer/ form a þan breoste  
111.98/13.

breth L (OE brēþ, m.) breath

m. : and drauȝth op so þane breth 316/597.

[n.]: þe breth of þe watere þat þe sonne:drauȝth op aȝein eue,  
ȝwane þe sonne is to grounde i-go:it ne may nouȝt bi-leue,  
317/612.

brimme B (OE brymme, m.) shore cf. OE brimm, n. 'sea'

n? : þar laien bi þan brimme/ and biſilichen hit wisten  
191/2,3; A ſchip funde Brennes/ bi þon brimme 202/23.

bringe B (OE bring, m.) offering

f. : wel bið him þere bringe 32/12.

brugge B, L, C (OE brycg, f.) bridge

B : f. : makien ane brugge 11.457/19.

L : f. : þreo þingus vuele i-nowe : on þis brugge were :  
þat on was, for heo was so heiz ... 212/422; Ane  
brugge ... huy maden þarof ate laſte 9/287.

C : f? : and þe brugge brende/ Vor he was al of tre 11096.

Brutlond B (OE Bryt-land, n.) Britain

n. : hit 162/8; of þen Brutlonde 208/10.

Bruttene B, Brutayne C (OE Bryten, f.) Britain

B : f. : ſwa þat nis her burh nan/ in þiſſere Bruttene 304/11.

[n.]: ſeoððen Bruttes hit leode 181/17.

C : [f?]: ȝe abbeþ ymad leuedy.brutayne ȝoure owe lond 4365.

bur B (OE būr, m. n.) bower

v. Clark Hall

m. : Gurmund makede enne tur/ þer inne he bulde enne  
bur 11.170/16; þæs bures dure he warp adun 111.  
27/15; weoren in ane bure 285/11.

burh B (OE burg, burh, f.) fort, castle

f. : þa burh wes wel iȝarwed/ binnen lut ȝearen/ he ȝef  
heo his stepmoder 10/17; & he hire sette name on  
86/11; þa Brutus hefde imaked þa hehȝe burh 88/4;  
in þere burhe 13/16; & he makede ane heȝe burh 10/13;  
in to are burȝe 182/5; þe i þissere burh wuned 227/1.  
m. : & þu æi hæhne burhȝe 11.169/18 hæðene monne habbe  
bitæht; enne burh makede 256/3; & wel hine wusten  
416/12; he ferdan to þan burȝen 263/5.

burh-folc B (cf. OE folo, n.)

n. : Ah þet burh-folc was war 416/11.

burne B (OE byrne, f.) coat of mail

f. : of mid þere burne 216/24; mid fæire are burne 111.24/15.

burst B (OE byrst, m.) loss, defeat

m. : þer he þolede muchelne burst 372/1.

candele L (OE candel, f. n.) candle

cf. Lat. candela

f. : Ase ȝif þow heolde ane clere candele ... heo wolde  
ȝiuen hire liȝt 311/411, 412.

care B (OE caru, f.) care; sorrow, grief

f. : and mid muchelure care 5/24 heo to londe biȝemen;  
& of mire unimete care 111.294/22.

m. : næuede he care nænne 11.12/4; her uore hæfden muchelne  
care 11.141/2.



caroyne C (OF caroigne, f.) carrion, carcass

[n.]: & pere as is vnclē ded lay. is foule caroyne he broȝte.

& riȝt þer bi pecemele. hakked it al to noȝte 4422.

castel, B, C (OE castel, m.) castle cf. OE castel, n. 'village'

B : m. : þa þe castel vp-stod/ he wes strong & swiðe god 70/16;

& he hine strongede wel 351/24; bene castel he cle-

pede Lauinion 9/11; he makede enne stronge castel 9/8;

Ich wulle bitaohen þe ful iwis/ minne castel inne

Paris 111.68/12; þer he gon bulde/ castel swiðe

strongne 272/23.

C : m. : Hii asaylede þen castel. riȝt as he ssolde adoun anon.

3339; þat hii ssolde him þe castel ȝelde. ar he wiþ

strengþe him none 3366.

[n.]: Vor þe castel is so strong . þat þe leuedi is Inne.

þat ich wene al þis lond . mid strengþe ne ssolde

it winne 3310.

castel-buri B (\*OE castel-burh, f.) = burh?

m? : ne wið inne þon castel-buri 286/12.

caudron L (OF caudron, m.) cauldron

[n.]: heore caudron heo founden pere/ Ase heo it bi-leften

opon is rugge : in þat opere ȝere 230/374.

chaiere L (OF chaiere, f.) chair

f? : ane chaiere with him huy bere 18/580.

chartre L, C (OF chartre, f.) charter

L : f. : þis chartre ichulle so faste bi-louke : In helle ,

ȝwanne ich hom come/ þat I ne drede me nouȝt þat

heo worþe : þoruȝ Marie me bi-nome 290/68; þe chartre

chartre (cont.)

L : f. : he wrouzte sone/ And a-selede hire with is ryng  
290/64; And brouzte þe chartre and bi-teizte as  
him 292/156.

C : f. : þat he made of þe olde lawes. is chartre atte laste.  
to holde uor him & uor is eirs. & aselede is vaste  
inou 10506.

child B, L, C (OE cild, n.) child

B : n. : hit 13/23; þat child was ihaten Brutus 13/20.

m. : þis child hefde his eames nome/ ah lut 3ar he leouede 11/23.

L : n. : it 5/161; hit 20/22.

m. : he 20/25; (nam) þat child bi is seli prote: and a-strang-  
lede him a-non 254/496.

C : n. : hit 238; it 985.

m. : þat. þat child ssolde verst. . fader & moder quelle.  
& suppe he ssulde mani lond. over passi & wende 228.

childingue L (\*OE childung, f.) child-bearing

[n.]: 3if heo þe betere mizte for solas : ouer-come hire  
childingue/ þo he was in trauail : heo ne mizhte  
ouer-come it nought 457/29.

chin B (OE cin(n), f.) chin

m. : þer Herigal smat AEuelin/ swiðe vuele a þane chin  
348/2; Herigal smat Euelin/ swiðe vfele ibene chin  
359/9; and þen chin him of-swipte 111.34/20.

chireche B, churche L, C (OE cirice, f.) church

B : f. : He lette þer areren sone/ ane chireche swiðe faire  
111.38/12; In þere chireche I þere soð halue 11.607/22

chireche (cont.)

B : f. : he wonede at Ernleze/ at æðelen are chirechen 1/6.

L : f. : a fair churche he liet a-rere/ In pritti dawes  
heo was arerd 79/69; for þis Martyrs þat 3wylene  
 weren : for hire to stronge deþe 1-do 125/651;  
 þat so deore as hadde a-bouzt 446/538; Heo liet  
 arere ane noble churche 39/196.

C : f. : An churche of seint Ion þe baptist . Constantin  
 let rere/ & cluped is constantiniane 1923-24;  
 & holichurche al olone/ lete abbe ir franchise 10223.

m. : þei seinte Peter him sulf. ihalwed him adde er 7158;  
 (clanliche to restore) holi churche þat þow hast .  
him binome mid wronge 10288.

m/f. : þe rof of þe chirche . of salesburi. it brozte.  
 Riht euene þe fifte day. þat he ihalwed was 8592;  
 Holi churche quap pandulf. so rihtuol is & was.  
 þat he ne ssal no prelat sette adoun. wipoute apert  
 trespas 10307.

[n.] : Ac vor þe chirche vn halewed was. þeruore him was wo.  
 He þoht lette it halwy. to Midewinter anon þo 7157.

cite C (OF cite, f.) city

m. : þe cite hii assailede . mid strengþe & mid ginne.  
 Ac so strong he was. þat hii ne mizte. so listliche  
him winne 8477.

[n.] : Vpe þe water of soure . an cite of gret fame.  
 He rerede & cluped it Leicestre. after is owe name 683.



clærscipe B (\*OE clæro-scipe, m.) clergy

n? : þa setten heo biscopas/ þan folken to dihten/  
 þer ouer ærchebiscopas/ þat clærscipe to rihten  
 (B þane clærscipe to rihte) 435/7.

clif B (OE clif, n.) cliff, rock

n. : þat clif 82/2.

clob L (OE clāp, m.) cloth

[n.]: A-boue him was a cloth i-tild:with twele tonguene  
 faste/ to is chin tilde þe neoper ende- : þe wind  
it wide caste 234/527.

cnif B, knif C (OE cnif, m.) knife

B : m. : heo nom enne longne cnif 160/19.

C : m. : A long knif it was & smal ynou.as me may 3ut yse.  
 Atte church of kaueresham.as he ap 3are ybe 5867.

cofre L (OF cofre, m.) box

m? : huy founden ane cofre:of seluer and of golde 338/503.

coluere L (OE culufre, culfre, f.) dove

f. : A coluere þare cam, ... fram heouene fleo on he13.  
 A croune of guold heo bar a-doun 85/81; heouene  
 openede a-3eines hire:þe Coluere gan in fleo 199/59.  
 Cf. he 352/249.

comp B (OE camp, m.) battle, combat, fight

n. : þat comp to bihalden 11.581/7; & stured e i þon compe  
 398/9.

compaynie C (OF compaignie, f.) company

[n.]: þo was þe compaynie strong.& strengore þan it was er 354.

coppe L (OE cuppe, f.; OF cope, f.) cup

f. : þis Coppe heo smot aȝen a ston : þat heo to-brak  
 aþre 193/53; A seluerne coppe heo /heom/ ȝaf : and  
 gladliche heo hire nome 193/50.

[n.] : ... ichulle it euene diȝte 193/52.

corn B, L (OE corn, n.) corn

B : n. : hit 85/19; þet corn 166/14.

L : n. : it 98/230.

court C (OF cort, court, f.) court

m? : þo was al þe court anuyd . as he moste nede 1223.

cow, kov L (OE cū, f.) cow

f. : heo 351/221; and mucche milk of hire heo nam 193/33;

For a wydewe hadde ane ȝwite kov 351/217. Cf. he 453/163.

craft B (OE craeft, m.) craft

m. : he cuðe þene vuele craft 120/20; þeo quene leornede

anne craft 268/21; þurh his wit-fulne craefte 388/2.

cristall (OF cristal, m.) cristal

[n.] : for ȝwanne þe sonne schynez on cristal:opur in watere cler,

A gret leome it ȝif out a-ȝein:and schynez feor and ner:

312/458.

cristindom B, L, C (OE cristen-dōm, m.) christendom

B : m. : þat luueden þene cristendom 11.188/12; & wulled

þeane cristindom 11.104/13 al for-faren & for-don.

[n.] : þe king ȝeornde cristindom/ & alle his duȝede cnihtes/

hit ȝeorde forð rihtes 433/17.

L : [n.] : ȝif him cristindom in mine name : and he it wole

onder-fonge 190/36.

cristindom (cont.)

C : [n.] : þus com lo verst here . in to þis lond cristendom.

Bote it were eny holi mon. þat stilleliche arst it  
nom 1657.

croce L (OF croce, f.) crutch, crozier

f. : þat folk stod as it were i-nome: and bi-heolden  
þe croce wel ofte/ þou heo stod in þe Marbre-ston  
75/149; To ȝelden hire up ase ȝe me hotez : ich  
habbe as here i-brouȝt 74/134.

croiz L, croiz, croys C (OF crois, f.) cross cf. ON kross, m.

L : f. : bi-seche we þe holie croiz .../ And seint Quiriac  
and seinte heleyne : þoruȝ ȝwam heo was i-founde  
5/132; Muche was þe loye of þe croȝz : þat men maden  
þo þere/ With gret song and with processioun : to  
þe Quiene huy hire bere 4/112; þe holie croiz þat  
he fond þere .../ A-down he as nam with gret honour  
14/464.

[n.] : þe croiz ... under eorþe huy caste/ ... and bureden  
it wel faste 10/316.

C : f? : þo sende he seint eleine ys moder ... To ierusalem  
to seche þe croiz ... So þat he was þer yfounde 1931.

[n.] : & saladin nom þe holy croys . & to þe heþenesse it  
ber 9874.

crune B, crowne L, C (ON krúna, f.; cf. OF corone, f.) crown

B : f. : þe crune he nom an honden/ he setten heo vppe  
Constance 11.129/19.

L : f? : he sette ane Crowne op-on is heued 173/2311.



crune (cont.)

C : f. : & mid mek herte pitoslicche . is kinges croune nom.  
 & sette is vpe þe rode heued 6596. Cf. & þer after  
 vp is heued. . ne com he nammore 6599.

cun, kun B (OE cynn, n.) kin; kind

n. : þer wes monies kunnes folc 73/5; þa nes þer noht  
 of þen kunne 172/1; beiene of ane cunne 184/22.

cure B (OE cyre, m.) choice

m. : hefde he þene cure 404/3; & nom him oðerne cure 11.45/1.

curtel B, cuyrtel L (OE cyrtel, m.) kirtle

B : m. : heo nom hire on anne curtel 213/2.

L : m. : Seint Martin bote anne Cuyrtel ... To þe pouere Manne  
 he hine 3af ... 454/202-3; nim mine cuyrtel 409/235.

dæi B, dai B, L, day L, C (OE dæg, m.) day

B : m. : þene daie heo vnder-nomen 344/16; & swa he nom enne  
 dai 108/5; a þene oðerne dæi 261/7; he com to Denemarke.

L : m. : Aftur heruest he comex i-lome 12/393; þare-fore he  
 liet þane day twayne : ase we him holde3 3uyte 419/43;  
 þat þov þinne dai ne breke 128/775.

C : m. : þer uore vr eldore him bitoc.of þe wouke þen verþe day  
 2431.

dæl, dal B, del B, L (OE dæl, m.; cf. OE gedæl, n.) part

B : m. : Belin 3ef his leue broþer/ anne dal of his londe 183/14.

f? : þea þridde del of mine londe 128/8 ich bi-take þe an  
 honde; Brutus 3ef Corineum/ ... ana dala of his londa  
 83/14.

n. : & sette hit him an honda 83/15; and heo scal habbe  
þat beste del 125/10.

deol (cont.)

L : [n.] : And al þat opur del with-Inne : swiþe blak as a  
 rauon it is 312/453.

deað B, deth, dez L, deþ C (OE dēap, m.) death

B : m. : & bene deað polien 13/7; his leode hine hateden/  
 in to þan bare dæde 300/6.

L : m. : Atþe laste, þo he bene dethþ i-saiþ : and i-felde  
hine ful strongue 66/446; 3wepur scholde bene dethþ  
 a-fongue 42/285.

[n.] : And mi deth ich a-bide here : 3wane god it wolde  
 sende 238/657.

C : m. : Sute wole ek my deþ be . 3if ich im auonge 4090;  
þen deþ vor to fle 1554; king henri þen deþ nom 9128.

dede B, C (OE dēd, f.) deed, action

B : f. : Belin hine bi-þohte/ of swulchere dede 190/3; for  
mire gode dede 111.462/3.

C : f. : vor woch dede a man ssolde . þat is adde iwrozt 1608  
 lese is on eye ...

deol L (OF doel, m.) sorrow, grief

[n.] : þat deol þat heo made /þo/ : no tongue it telle may  
 325/101.

deor, der B (OE dēor, n.) animal

n. : hit 275/3; þat heah der 14/13; (wende) to-ward þon  
 deore 275/18.

dette L (OF dette, m.) debt

[n.] : huy 3olden, þo he it creuede 465/122.

dev L (OE *dēaw*, m. n.) dew

m. : And þe Dev freose a-doneward : ȝwane he is a-doun  
a-lyt 317/618.

dic, dich B (OE *dīc*, f.; cf. OE *dīc*, m. 'dike') ditch

m? : He lette makien enne dic/ þe wes wunderliche deop/  
f. : abouten his ferde/ & feiede heo mid þornen 28/10-13;  
he lette maken ane dich 274/8; wið innen are muchele  
dic 248/3.

discs L (OE *disc*, m.) dish, plate, bowl

m? : Ane Discs of seluer he nam also 46/23.

[n.]: And to-brak it al to smale peces 46/24.

dom B, C (OE *dōm*, m.) doom, judgement

B : m. : ich wulle makien þene dom 11.272/8; halde him seolf  
þisne dom 11.44/4; he nalde for nane dome 392/11...

C : m. : And þe heyemen come echon.þen dom to hure sone.  
And þe king þen dom uor to ȝiue.an hey sat on is trone.  
6920-21.

drem B (OE *drēam*, m.) joy, mirth; noise

m. : to ihæren þene muche drem 286/8; ih'ede he þene  
muchelne drem 368/16.

dragon C' (OF *dragon*, m.) dragon

m. : [Tueye grete dragons . out of þis stones come.  
þe on was red þe oþer wyt . hii gonne to fȳte vaste.]  
So þat þe wite was aboue . as al þat folc ysey.  
& Drof þen rede al abac . out of þe putte ney. 2789.  
þe rede as vor sorinesse.bi turnede him attenende.2790.



drake B, L (OE draca, m.) dragon

B : m. : AErrest wes þe white buuen/ & seoððen he wes bi-neoðen/  
& þe drake ræde/ for-wundede hine to dæðe/ and æider  
wende to his hole 11.245/10-14; þer heo isezen þene  
Drake 11.339/9.

L : m. : Swiþe ferliche he blaste fuyr 39/176; and al þe  
contreie of him a-gaste 39/177.

drinc B, drink, drunc L, drench C (OE drinc, m., drinca, m.)  
cf. OE drince, f.) drink

B : m. : þene drink & þene mete 55/21 ... to heora scipe  
heo hit fusden; ah he þurh atterne drench 11.249/22  
dæð scal iþolien.

L : [n.] : For he ne blessedde nouzt is drinke : and with-oute  
leue it nam 283/200.

C : [n.] : He 3ef him a lufor drench . & þo he adde ydronke so.  
He bad him ligge & slepe wel . þat it miȝte þe bet do.  
3169. Cf. he 3eue him an quointe drench 1555.

drope B (OE drōpa, m.) drop

m. lette enne drope blod 326/22.

dune<sup>1</sup> B (OE dūn, f.) down, hill

f. : Brutus hit demdæ/ uppen ære dune 79/9.

dune<sup>2</sup> B (OE dyne, m.) din, noise

m. : (iherde) ... & þene dune muchelne 368/17.

dunt B, L (OE dynt, m. ) dint, blow

B : m. : dunt he him 3ef þane bridde 349/16; moni greatne  
dunt 97/4.

L : m. : Are þov scholdest þene dunt 1-hepre 315/542.

dure B (OE *duru*, f.) door

f. : þæs bures dure he warp adun/ þat heo to-barst a  
uiuen 111.27/16; at þere dure werpen vt 434/8.

duzede B (OE *dugub*, f.) body of retainers, folk

f. : Seie þu bi-fore mire duzden 127/17; bi-foren  
þissere duzede 11.378/1.

eamh-sene B (OE *ēage* + *sien*, f.) eyesight

m/n. : fliz ut of min eamh-sene 131/12.

eax, ex B, C (OE *æcs*, f.) axe

B : f. : mid scearpe mire eaxe 98/6.

C : f? : Mid him he adde an strong ax. þat naniman broȝte to depe.

[n.]: So strong & gret þat an oþer. hit ssolde hebbe unneþe 389.

ende B, L (OE *ende*, m.) end

B : m. : ȝeue us enne ende 39/2; al þesne suð ende 291/2 heo  
heold in his heonde; bi þan ende of Orcanai 263/20.

L : m. : And þo he 1-seiz al þen ende 56/95; aþenende 5/160.

Enguelond L, Engelond C (OE *Engla-land*, n.) England

L : n. : Al enguelond scholde beo ilizt : bet þane hit euer  
er were 20/20.

C : m. : þe see ȝep him al aboute. he stond as in an yle 3;  
Fram souþe to norþ he is long. eizte hondred Mile 6;  
Wateres he hap ek inouȝ 19.

ensaumple L (OF *ensample*, m.) example

m? : þarof ichulle one ensaumple segge 424/126.

eorðe B, eorþe L (OE eorþ(e), f.) earth, soil

B : f. : þa tileden þa eorðen 111.456/8; and feol a þere  
eorðe 111.119/20.

L : f. : And 3eot ase gret ase þe eorþe þinchez : and ase  
luyte ase heo is 318/656.

[n.] : So luyte wolde þe eorþe þinche : þat vneþe he  
scholde it ouzt i-seo 311/400.

eorð-hus B (OE eorþ-hūs, n.) earth-house, den

n. : Ane dohter hefde AEstrild/ inne þon eorð-huse 102/2;  
makian an eorð-hus 100/9.

eoyle L (OF oile, f.) oil

[n.] : Wide in londe it is i-lad : þat ho-so it habbe mote,  
Noble relike it is al-so:sike Men to don bote 100/298-9.

ernde, ærnde B, erinde L (OE ærende, n.) errand, message

B : f. : þe wel þar þe ernde 312/4; þa þa ærnde hafde i brohte  
11.640/2; þe sculde þas ernde don 60/23.

L : [n.] : And seiden heore erinde hou it was 243/440.

fat L (OE fæt, n.) vessel, vat

n. : it 17/558.

feht, fiht, feiht B (OE (ge)feoht, n.; cf. OE feohte, f.) fight

n. : þat feht 65/18; 3emen þes fehtes 367/7; vt of þan  
fehte 5/4; wið Eneam he nom an feiht 8/16.

feld B, L, C (OE feld, m.) field

B : m. : Menius wende þane felde 322/14; mildelichen ferdan/  
in enne bradne feld 217/3.

L : m? : Of lond he hadde ane grete feld 26/7.

[n.] : and he it solde wel faste 26/7.



feld (cont.)

C : m. : þen feld made bar 4334.

feng B (OE feng, m.) booty cf. OE gefeng, n. 'taking, capture'

m? : 3emen þes fehtes/ & nawiht þes fenges 367/8.

feoh, feo B (OE feoh, n.) tribute, fee

n. : hit 207/10; þurh þa luue of þan feo 329/17.

feond, ueond B (OE fiend, m.) fiend, monster

m. : enne ueond fusen 111.103/11.

[n.] : þer he herde suggen/ þat þe feond wonede/ Swa longe  
he ferde/ þat he hith ifunde 276/15.

ferde B (OE fierd, f.) army

f. : þe ferde wes swa muchel/ þat heo wes vnmete 211/20;

al þa ferde 181/4 heo falden to grunde; þe king him

lend ane ferd 169/16; Heo com to þere ferde 213/8;

mid þire ferde 67/12; mid muchelere ferde 23/1.

n? : 3earwe wes þat ferde 212/14; 3eond þat ferde 75/14.

feste L, C (OF feste, f.) feast, festival

L : f. : So þat men holdeth þulke feste : herre þane heo  
er were 421/30.

C : [n.] : & made so noble feste/ þat of alle þat me wuste  
it was . þe richoste & þe meste 10977.

feuere L (OE fēfer, fēfor, m.) fever cf. Lat. febris

m/f? : Ac heo made is bodi melte a-wei 76/198.

finguer, fyngur L (OE finger, m.) finger

m. : No fuyr ne mizhte þat finguer brenne ... Ake he  
bi-lefde hol, and 3uyt is 32/91; And þane fyngur  
huy founden al-so 32/107.

first B (OE *first*, m.) space of time

m. : & umben longne first 13/10 mid wrðscipe comen liden.

fisc B, fisch L (OE *fisc*, m.) fish

B : m. : and ælc fisc an his ende/ þer he his cun findeð  
11.500/13.

L : m. : A gret fisch huy seizen and grislich : after þe  
schipe he droug 231/408; þe fisch bi-gan to meouen  
him 238/674; and smot to him faste 231/417; ech  
fisch wende in is ende 232/462.

[n.]: ich makede me fuyr faste/ And seth me fisch a-godes  
name - þre dayes it i-laste 237/646.

fla, flo B (OE *flā*, f.; *flān*, m. f.) arrow

f. : þat he þe flo heuede idrawn 14/21; On he sette  
ane fla 62/11.

flesch L (OE *flēsc*, n.) flesh, body

n. : He seruede so is owene flesch : and cleopede it  
"frereASSE" 61/252; Mete he gaf him luyte i-nov  
61/253.

flie L (OE *flēoge*, *flȳge*, f.) fly

f. : For þe flie ne doth non opur guod : bote fleoth  
feor and neor/ ... A-non so þe Disch is i-set a-doun :  
heo wole beo ope þe brerde 61/260.

flode B (OE *flōd*, m. n.) flood, deluge

m. : æfter þan flode/ þe from drihtene com/ þe al her  
a-qælde/ quic þat he funde 2/7-10; bi þan sœ  
flode 46/16.

flum B (OF flum, m.) river

m? : (ferden) ouer Maluan ane flum suide long 55/17.

folc B, C, folk B, L, C (OE folc, n.) folk, people

B : n. : hit 278/11; pat Troynisce folc 18/19; from socne

pes folkes 100/14; pan folke to queme 15/24; bissea  
folkes king 35/21.

L : n. : it 19/14; to lede pat folk of Israel 8/232.

C : n. : it 5199.

folie L (OF folie, f.) folly

f? : he dude er ane folie 43/320.

fore, uore B (OE fōr, f.) voyage, onset, expedition

f. : in pera ilke uore 71/17; mid starkere fore 237/11  
ferde toward Rome.

for(e)ward B, voreward C (OE foreweard, f.) agreement

B : n. : & al pat forward wes ilest 47/2; his feoreward ich  
him halde 200/21; mid pan ilke foreward 233/9.

L : n? : to pane forewarde 470/294.

C : f. : Nere þe vorewarde no so strong.me bozte is out wip  
wou.7778.

[n.]: & bed him vor is trywenesse.þe vorewarde abbe in þoȝt.

pat bituene hom was ymad.pat he breke it noȝt.8039.

fornais L (OF fornais, m.) furnace

[n.]: A forneis he let maken of bras ; and fullen it ful  
of led 295/61.

fot L, vot C (OE fōt, m.) foot

L : m. : pat I-ne dar anne fot fram þe go 37/100; pat hit  
ne mizhte ane fot forþere passe 39/180.



fot (cont.)

C : m. : So þat he smot of þan vot 10057; he ne moste an  
vot go 5887.

foul L (OE fugol, m.) fowl, bird

m. : þe foul þat spæc with /heom/ er:a-3ein hem sone he  
drou3/ þe drem of is winguene murie was 230/387-8.

fourme L (OF forme, f.) form

f? : So þat huy nomen ane fourme of pays 354/304.

[n.]: wiend out a-non mid þulke fourme : and brec hit  
al-to nou3te 371/155.

France L (OF France, f.) France

[n.]: And bi-tei3te al Fraunce Ihesu crist : and blessedde  
it wel faste 158/1793.

freondscipe B (OE frēond-scipe, m.) friendship

f. : mid mire freondscipen cumen a3eæn 330/15; & mine  
freond-scipe habben 330/19.

Friday L (OE frīgedæg, m.) Friday

m. : þus departede þe court þo:a-morewe, þene friday 128/777.  
Seint thomas wende þudere a-3en ...

fulluht B (OE fulluht, fulwiht, m.f.n.) baptism v. Clark Hall

f? : & þa fulluht nulden vnder-fon 433/22.

fur B, fuyr L, C (OE fyr, n.) fire

B : n. : þat fur 121/19; (makede) a swiðe wunsaþ fur 51/2;  
he halde þa milc in þat fur 51/11.

L : n. : it 85/84; hit 197/123; for-barnde al þat him cam  
to 197/130.

C : n. : þat me clupeþ þat holi fur 185.

gare B (OE gār, m.) dart, javelin, spear

m. : bene gare he uorð strakte 111.98/10; He bar an  
his honde/ enne gare swiðe stronge 111.24/9.

[n.] : let gliden his gare/ þat hit grund sohte 216/20.

gaue B (OE gafol, n.) tax, tribute, rent

n. : þ gaue 378/14; ne na gaue' heom senden 392/13.

genge B (OE genge, n.) troop, gang, retinue

f. : mid muchelere genge 262/21; mid richere genge  
11.40/23.

gersume B (OE gersum, m. n.) treasure

m? : muchel wes þa gersume 112/3.

n. : þat garsume 194/19; to læden þis gorisume 151/5.

ginne B, gynne L (OF engin, m.) trick

B : m? : Brutus iherde siggen/ of þan ufele ginnen 57/7.

L : m? : Ake þis false cristine man:þouzte op one feolle  
gynne 250/340.

gleo B (OE glēo(w), n.) glee, mirth

n. : þat gleo 298/22.

god B, goud B, L (OE gōd, n.) good; possessions

B : n. : hit 140/13; al þat goud 140/12; na god heo ne  
bi-ȝeteð 144/7.

L : n. : hit 102/59; it 102/63.

godnesse B (OE gōdnes, f.) goodness

f. : of alre godnesse 294/7 þe gume wes ilæred.

godd-spel B, godspel L, gospel C (OE gōd-spell, n.) gospel

B : n. : he seide him þat godd-spel 111.183/15.

goud L?

godd-spel (cont.)

L : n. : Seint Iohan oudde þis godspel sone : and prechede  
it faste al-so 407/169.

C : m. : (vor to preche) þen gospel þat he adde inaked 1529.  
gold B, L (OE gold, n.) gold

B : n. : þat gold 346/12.

L : n. : it 250/336.

gost B, L, C (OE gäst, m.) breath; ghost, spirit

B : m. : þene gast he wel daleð 387/13.

L : m. : A zeomerore gost þane he was : ne miȝte no man  
finde 234/531; heo ȝaf þene gost 106/175.

[n.] : (bi-gan) þe Massene for þis selie gost : to bringuen  
it out of soruwe 424/144.

C : m. : Sone fram me he wolde wende . þat gost þat deþ me  
lere 3055.

goute L (OF goute, f.) gout

f? : Seint Tebaud þe bischop hadde : in his fot ane hote  
goute 424/127.

grace L, C (OF grace, f.) grace

L : f? : siend us þine grace 3/61.

[n.] : Ake a-bide betere grace of þe king : ȝif god it  
wolde sende 147/1434.

C : [n.] : þat hii adde iwonne grace. & wy hii it adde vor lore  
8365. Cf. þin grace 6307.

gress B (OE gars, gress, n.) grass

n. : þat gress 166/14.



grece L (OF gresse, graise, f.) grease, fat

[n.] : bat grece of him orn a-brod : ase þei it frijnge  
were 187/86.

gretinge B (OE grēting, f.) greeting

f. : and seie him þat ich hine gret/ godere gretinge  
151/8; for þira gretinge 126/23.

grið B (OE griþ, n.) peace, truce

n. : hit 205/2; þat grið 108/11; & nulle me zeuen na  
grið 361/20; King Androge' zeorneð þi grið 352/11.

m. : ouer al me brac þene grið 172/8.

grome B (OE grama, m.) anger, rage

m. : & þene muche grome 11.38/23; for þan muchele grome 20/4.

grund B, ground L (OE grund, m.) ground, earth; bottom; cause

B : m. : For his luue moni eotend/ ic leide dead a þene grund  
97/16; iseid ich habbe þene grund 135/15.

L : m. : ho-so souzte þene ground 318/655.

gult B (OE gylt, m.) guilt, sin

m. : hit wule þe suggen minne gult 356/20.

gurdle B (OE gyrdel, m.) girdle, belt

m? : hi-neoðe þon gurdle hit punched fisc 56/20.

ȝæt B, ȝat B, L, C (OE geat, n.) gate

B : n. : hit 258/17; a ȝæt þer vnder makede 258/16; at þon  
norð ȝate i Lundene 325/17; bi ane ȝate 304/19.

L : n. : hit 15/492.

C : n. : it 11201.

georde L (OE gierd, f.) rod, twig

f. : þis maister nam þe georde : and sette hire on þe  
grounde/ And heo bi-gan to leui þare ... 350/167-8;

For seint Eadmund hadde ane smarte georde 434/113.

[n.]: Seint Dauī a-boute þis holie georde: a strong wal  
he liet a-rere/ And nam guode ȝome hov longue it  
woxe : fram ȝere to ȝere 8/260.

ȝer B, L (OE gēar, n.) year

B : n. : swa al þet halue ȝer 143/17 mid al his hirede he  
wes þer; i þon ilka ȝeære 225/6.

m. : mid þan feo soulden faren/ euer alone ȝere 332/23.

L : m. : þis was þene fourteope ȝere 190/27.

ȝeue B (OE giefu, f.) gift

f. : mid þere ȝeue he heom ouer-com 329/9.

ȝitsunge B (OE gitsung, f.) greediness, covetousness

f. : for nare ȝitsunge 405/2 ... ne com ich to þissen londe.

ȝiuerneſſe B (OE giferneſ, f.) greediness, gluttony

f. : for nare ȝiuerneſſe 405/3.

ȝweol L (OE hwēol, n.) wheel

n. : þare-Inne he i-saiȝ a grislich ȝweol ... Ful it  
was of hokes and pikes 208/280.

ȝwuche L (OE hwioce, f.) chest

f. : A nyȝt cam þis holie man : And þe ȝwuche he fond  
þere/ Sone he ȝweluede hire op þe doun ... 460/138

hæfd, hæued B, heued L, C (OE hēafod, n.) head

B : n. : he gurde Suard on þat hæfd 68/9.

hæfd (cont.)

L : n. : it 30/46; ... Ʒwanne þat heued hathþ godes grace  
47/25.

C : n. : it 4244; & smot him anowarde þat heued 397.

hæle B, hele C (OE hælo, hæl, f.) health, safety

B : f. : to godere þire hæle 153/3.

E : f. : þat goderhele al engelond. was heo euere ybore 7570;  
to wroþerhele 3420. 7282.

hælf, half B (OE healf, f.) half

f. : for nuste he a nare halve 372/13 helpen þ him mahte;  
alle heo hizeden to/ an elcher halfe 98/14.

hengest B (OE hengest, m.) horse, steed

m. : Ich bi-teche þe anne hengest/ godna & strongna 151/3-4.

hærm B (OE hearm, m.) harm

m. : þurh þene mucle hærm ii.252/12; no nenne hærm þer  
don heom iii.57/19; & swlone hærm in þon londe 92/9  
dude Humber þe stronge.

hæued-been B (OE hēafod-bān, n.) head-bone, skull

n. : (smat) uppe þat hæued-been 277/15.

hæuene B, hauene B, C (OE hæfen(e), f.) haven, harbour

B : f. : And þa hauene of Doure hafde hafde inomen 365/12;  
Brutus i þare hauene læi 60/5; he ærnde to are  
hæuene 399/14. Cf. þat hauen of Douere he hæuede  
inumen 316/19.

C : f? : þe hæuene þer he was aslawe. after hayn is name iwis.  
Haymtone was icluped . as he Ʒut icluped is.  
Vor Souþhamtone he is icluped . ... 1471-2.



halle B, C (OE heall, f.) hall

B : f. : þa heolden up þa halle 111.119/9; eoden heo alle/  
þurh ut þære halle 11.142/17; uppen are halle 11.  
118/17.

C : f? : þo he to þis halle com.he chiddē & made him wroþ.

Vor he was bi þe haluendel.to lute he suor is op 8025.

halī-bred L(\*OE hālig-brēad, n.) eucharist

n. : hit 423/101.

hare L (OE hara, m.) hare

m. : Al round it lith in þe wombe:and i-bouwed ase an hare  
zwane þat heo in fourme lith:for is.In.is sumdel nare  
320/723.

harpe B, L (OE hearpe, f.) harp

B : f. : hanlie þa harpe 209/1; and nom him ane harpe an  
hond 11.428/23.

L : f. : his h[arpe...] heo gan [ to kuisse his holy pouht ...]  
23/133; Al bi hire-[self heo gon harpen ...] 23/135  
(the readings in the brackets are from MS Vernon).

helm B (OE helm, m.) helmet

m. : vppen þene helm he hine smat 321/1; sette he an  
hefde/ enne helm godne 11.576/5.

help B, L (OE help, f. m.) help

B : m. : ne isæh he help nenne 11.268/23; and had heom  
heore helpes 111.204/6.

L : m. : ne help nadde he nanne 453/143.

hem B (OE hemm, m.) hem

m. : hire hem heo up i-tæh/ hire cneon he wes swiðe  
nehi 213/5.

hen C (OE henn, f.) hen

f. : & an hen vor fiftene.& vawe þat me is brouzte 8335.

heorde B (OE heord, f.) herd, flock

f. : heo finden ane heorde 14/5 of heorten swiðe greate;  
þe fader heo bi-eode 14/7; to his sune he heo draf  
14/9 . Cf. Madden: heo=heom.

heort B, L (OE heor(o)t, m.) hart. stag

B : m. : swa hund pene heort driued 111.65/3.

L : m. : þo þis heort hadde longe I-orne : he bi-turnde him  
ate laste 256/8; A-mong opur game huy founden ane  
heort : swiþe fair best with-alle 393/13.

heorte B (OE heorte, f.) heart

f. : Poreus hauede þe heorte swa luper 168/10; at mire  
heorte ic habbe grome 404/21; Heo comen to gadere/  
mid greater heorte 25/6.

heouene B, L (OE heofone, f.; cf. heofon, m.) heaven

B : f. : Vre drihte hine iherde/ in to pere heouene 111.186/4.

L : f. : heo makez euene þus hire cours 311/406.

m. : þe heouene geth ene a-boute : þoru3 dai3e and þoru3  
ny3t/ þe Mone and þe steorrene with him heo berth  
311/402.

[n.]: Heouene geth al-a-bote þe eorþe : euene it mot wey3e  
311/395.

her L (OE hēr, n.) hair

n. : it 182/49.

herberwe B (OE here-beorg, f.; cf. ON herbergi, n.) harbour

n? : he droh in ane hælue/ & toc þā herberwe 340/19.

(See p. 31, footnote 3).

here<sup>1</sup> B (OE here, m.) army, host

m. : þa sette þe kaisere/ arimen al þene here 111.6/15;  
(fechten) wið þon Alemainisce here 235/22; hail beo  
þu mid þine here 354/19.

here<sup>2</sup> L (OE hēre, f.; cf. OF haire, f.) haircloth, sackcloth

f. : In strengore manere heo was i-maud 436/166; þe  
moder tok wel stilleliche : eypur of heom ane  
here 432/43.

heste B, L (OE hēs, f.) command

B : f. : þa hehte heo ane heste 105/22.

L : f? : Ane heste we habbez i-brouzt 163/1985.

heþenesse C (OE hēþenes, f.) paganism; hethens

[n.]: & Heþenesse ybrouzt azen . uort seint austin it  
adde vnbounde 1677.

hilde B (OE hilde, f.; cf. CE hilt, n. m.) hilt

f. : and þa hilt on his hand bræc 277/17; riht bi þere  
hilde 66/19.

hind B (OE hind, f.) hind, female of the hart

f. : of þare hinde 52/5; of are wite hinde 50/23.

hired B (OE hīred, m.) court, body of retainers

n. : forð i-wende þat hired 262/16; þa answare þ hired  
330/20; þa wunede in þan hirede 111.224/7.

holt B (OE holt, n. m.) copse, wood

m. : iseah him bi-hælues/ anne holt hæhne 370/12.

hond B, L, C (OE hand, f.) hand

B : f. : Ah Brutus hefde þa ouere hond 55/7; & nimen hit  
to þire heonde 162/8; & tæh hit to his ære hond  
70/6.



hond (cont.)

L : f. : Ne for-rotie neuere þis hond : ake i-blessed be  
heo 46/27; And bar as bi-fore al þat folk 379/99.

C : f. : change ȝoure hond & to þe vs.of suerd & lance is do  
 2211.

m. : & þo he adde þun ouer hond 1840.

honour L (OE honour, f.) honour

[n.] : to holden op min honour : and to sauī it fer and ner  
 179/28.

horn B (OE horn, m. ) horn

m. : er he ihere minne horn 34/11; hafe mine godne horn  
 111.23/11; and blawe hine mid maine 111.23/13.

hous L, hus C (OE hūs, n.) house

L : n. : it 52/186.

C : n. : it 5722.

hude B (OE hȳd, f.) hide, skin

f. : seoððen he nam þe hude 52/4; bi-foren þan wefede  
 he heo spradde 52/6; he hafde ane hude 11.170/7;  
 of þere hude he kærfe enne þwong 11.170/17.

huie B (OE hyge, m.) mind, heart; courage

m. : nom hire leaf-fulne huie 128/22 þat heo lizen nolden.

hul B, L, C (OE hyll, m. f.) hill

B : m. : þat he on enne hul bi-com/ he wes feir & heih/  
 & he hine swiðe bi-heold 70/10-12; þene hul makede  
 þe king 371/8.

L : m. : þe hul of Toumbe he is i-cleoped : for he is sumdel  
 nare 304/157; So þat huy i-seizen ane hul 233/499.

C : m. : þen hul he wuste 1306.

Humber B (OE Humbre. f.) the Humber

f. : Cunedagius bi þare Humbre 161/7 hævede al þeð west.

hundrad B (OE hundred, n.) hundred

n. : to iwissee an hundrad punda 151/2.

hurst L (OE hyrst, m.) copse, wooded hill

[n.]: and þe prince it i-saiz furst 473/378.

husting B (OE hūsting, n.) council, tribunal, meeting

n. : h hustinge wes god ii.57/1; to þan hustinge 218/11;

to ane muchele hustinge iii.177/2.

f. : þe king huld i Lundene/ ane muchele hustinge ii.414/14;

heo comen to Lundene/ to muchelere hustinge ii.408/22.

in B, L (OE inn, n.) house, chamber; lodgings

B : n. : to þan inne ii.149/5.

f? : to þare cinhtene(sic) inne 142/9.

L : n. : it 466/150.

ioye L (OF joie, f.) joy

[n.]: Al þe Ioye þat ich habbe noupe iseize : it worth

me bi-nome 218/620.

itel B (OE getæl, n.) number

[cf. tale<sup>2</sup>]

n. : & nuste na mon þat itel 333/13;

iupe L (OF jupe, f.) tunic

[n.]: Vnnepe it heolede is derne limes 455/216.

iwille B (OE gewill, n.) wish, will

n? : æft'e þine iwille 265/8.

kalender B (OF calendier, m.) calendar

m. : he makede þane kalend' 308/7.

kinedom B, C (OE cynedōm, m.) kingdom

B : m. : (nom) bene kinedom eke 119/7; þat he hafde þisne  
kinedom 384/5.

C : m. : He wan þe kinedom of þe march. mid is dedes bolde.  
So þat of him he was. after warde yholde 5417.

kinhelm B (OE cyne-helm, m.) crown

m. : he his kinhelm on-feng/ & sette hī on his broðer  
hæfd 288/18; Ah nim þu bene kine-halm/ he is þe  
icunde 11.337/18-19.

kine-lond B (cf. OE lond, n.) kingdom

n. : hit 117/17; and þu wult þat kinelond 111.49/8  
bi-tellen to þire hond; tueolf ȝero he heold þis  
kine-lond 117/16; þine sustren sculen habben mi  
kinelond 131/13.

kineriche B (OE cynerīce, n.) realm, kingdom.

n. : nimen mine castles alle/ and mine kineriche 111.68/8;  
to þissere kineriche 11.43/10.

koker B (OE cocer, cocor, m.) quiver for arrows

m. : wapnen he ladde/ ... and enne koker fulne flan 276/5.

lac B (OF lac, m.) lake

m? : ouer þen lac of Siluius/ & ouer þen lac of Philisteus  
54/21; 22.

læche-cræfte B (OE læche-cræft, m.) leech-craft

m. : Ne þurh nenne læche-cræfte 325/12.



lar B (OE lār, f.) lore, teaching

f. : bi-ðenc a mire lare 214/9; of hazere laren 111.224/10;  
hercnied mine lare 111.293/14.

lar-spel B (OE lār-spell, n.) sermon

n. : hit 433/13; þat lār-spel 433/14.

laðung b (OE laðung, f.) calling, invitation; meeting

f. : þa makeden heo ane laðunge 218/7 of heore leoue folke.

lauerke L (OE lāwerce, f.) lark

f. : And herethþ þane dai with hire song : and restez hire  
a-night 67/459.

launce C (OF lance, f.) lance

m. : In is riȝt hond is launce he nom.þat was icluped Ron.  
long & gret & strong ynou.him ne miȝte at sitte non 3618.

laze B, lawe L (OE lagu, f.) law, custom

B : f. : and wrat þa laȝen on Engliſ/ aſe heo wes eor on Bruttiso/  
and wherfde hire nome onnhis dæȝe/ and cleopede heo  
Mærcene laȝe 269/18-21; þa makede heo ane laȝe 269/6;  
of þare laȝe ne cuðe na þing 11.131/14; beien of are  
laȝe 111.256/5.

L : f. : he heold up þe lawe of criſtindom : and teiȝte aſ  
feor and ner 45/4.

lead L (OE lēad, n.) lead

n. : it 12/371.

lef L (OE lēaf, n.) leaf

n. : it 18/599.

leg L (ON leggr, m.) leg

m. : he ne miȝte þanne leg i-wielde 360/42; he bi-heold  
and handlede þane sore leg 360/50.

leitingue L ( cf. OE lēget, m.) lightning cf. li3tingue

[n.]: Six hundret it a-slov of heom 301/58.

leode B (OE lēod, f.) nation cf. OE lēode, pl.

f. : þa clupeden heo lude/ 3eond þare leoden 251/15;  
 & scal beon eower lauerd/ inne bissere leoden 155/14;  
 and draf me to þisse londe/ in to þire leode 199/20.

n. : Feowerti wintre he walde þes leode/ a blisse hit  
 stod on his hand 182/20; þa makede heo ane læ3e/  
 and læide 3eon þat leode 269/7; he fondede þan leoden  
 281/8; (iwende) in to þon leode after monkunne 245/2;  
 þa isæh bisses ledes king 412/2.

leon L (OE lēona, m.) lion

m. : and þo þe leon i-heorde þis/ Mildeliche þane put  
he schrapede...270/328; þe leon 3eode is wei 270/337;  
 þo he i-saiz ane leon licke þat bodi 270/320.

lesinge B, lesingue L (OE lēasung, f.) falsehood, lie

B : f. : and seide ane lesinge 126/4; & Vortig'us þe swikele  
 king/ ilæfde þare læsing 11.204/24.

L :[n.]: and swipe wel I-schriue/ Of þe lesingue þat þov  
 bi me seidest : and bide heom it þe for-3yue 333/348.

lettre L, C (OF lettre, f.) letter

L : f. : he nam þe lettre on his hond : and þo heo was ondo  
 352/252.

C :[n.]: A lettre hii toke þe kinge . þat þo he hit let rede  
 3987.

liche B (OE līc, n.) body

n. : hit 164/19; þat lich 111.99/1.

lif B, L, liff L (OE *liff*, n.) life

B : n. : hit 420/10; pat lif 160/20; zif pu hi lif wult  
habbe 287/17.

L : n. : hit 270/340; it 321/749.

liht L, liht L, C (OE *leoht*, n.) light

L : n. : it 19/7.

C : n. : it 1581.

lihting L (OE *līhting*, f.) lightning

[n.] : pe lihting we i-seoth a-non : zwane it is poruz  
i-brouzt 315/547.

likame B (OE *līc-hama*, n.) body

m? : leo war here pa ilke likame 214/17; & nimeð mine  
likame 11.206/7.

lim B (OE *lim*, n.) limb

n? : lim from pen oðere 180/14.

liuere L (OE *lifer*, f.) liver

f. : pe liuere, pat is neþemest : heo comes ... 319/707.

lof L (OE *hlāf*, n.) bread, loaf

m? : And ane wel faire zwite lof : he sette bi-twene  
to & to 227/283.

lomb L (OE *lamb*, n.) lamb

n. : it 62/299.

lond B, L, C (OE *land*, n.) land

B : n. : hit 51/22; p lond 4/15; pu scalt finden a wunsum  
lond 52/23; his lond he hire lende 10/23; ich wille  
mi drichliche lond 127/5 a proe al to-dalen.

L : n. : it 221/40.

C : n. : hit 112; it 7145.



London C.

n. : Bisegede londone ac hi ne mizte . nozt come wipinne.

So wel he was wipinne ywust . þoru men þat þer were 6160.

lot L (OE hlot, n.) lot:

n. : So þat huy nomen and casten lot : and ope seint

Mathie it gan falle 389/9.

lufe B, loue L (OE lufu, f.) love

B : f. : vppe þere muchele lufe 34/5; mid muchelere lufe 53/23.

m/n?: for þon lofe of his broþer 10/18.

L : [n.] : þe loue was euere gret i-nouz .../ ... for-to þe feond  
destourbede hit, allas 117/380.

lufte B (OE lyft, f.m.n.) air. sky, wind

m/n.: tæih him to þon lufte 122/14.

mæiden B, maide L, C, mayde C (OE mægden, n.) maiden, girl

B : n. : þæt maiden 7/20; Oft wes þen mæidene wa 131/23; þa  
luuede he a maide 12/3; þeo Brennes þis mæide nom  
210/18; anes maidenenes sune 386/23.

f. : heo 7/2; hire monsoipe 8/1; þus seide þe mæiden  
Cordoille 130/2.

L : n. : Sainte Fey, þat holie Maide : of swiþe heize men  
heo com 83/1.

f. : heo 91/165; and founden hire ligge þer 91/166.

C : n. : þat nom eleyne þat noble mayde.king howeles nece 4194.

f. : heo 6802; hire name 593.

mærgen B, morewe L (OE morgen, m.) morrow, morning

B : m. : Belin a þene mærgen 241/22 letten blawen his bemen.

mergen (cont.)

L : m. : bene Morewe aftur Midewinter day : to depe huy him  
brouzte 2/37.

mest B (OE mest, m.) mast

m. : he for-heow benne mest 196/4; he lette seil and bane  
memst 196/6 liden mid vden.

mahum B (OF mahom, m.) idol

m. : Ah heo nom bene mahum 11/1; in Albe Lingue he hine  
sette/ ah sone he ponene iuatte 11/5-6.

maine B (OE magen, n.) main. might

f? : cuð nu þine strengða/ & þina stepa main 66/1

male B (OF male, f.) coffer, mail

n? : ich þe wulle bi-tache/ a male riche 150/23.

mansingue C (cf. OE ā-mān-sumung, f.) excommunication, curse

[n.]: Of þis mansinge were principals; & susteinede it vaste  
10204.

mantel B, L (OF mantel, m.) mantle, cloak

B : m. : & dude a þene ende/ enne mantel hende 11.193/10;  
& bi þan mantle hine 11.215/14.

L : m? : he 3af him ane olde Mantel 57/111.

[n.]: Seint Fraunceis it vnder-feng : to witien him fram  
chele 57/112.

marke L (OE mearc, f.) mark

f? : Ane marke he hathz on me 1-do 182/31.

marmestan B (OE mearmstān, m.) marble

m : þe king nēm enne marmestan/ & lette hine mid golde  
bi-gon 325/18-19.

martyrdom B (OE martyrdom, m.) martyrdom

m. : and whulcne martirdom 431/18 Petrus hauede vnder-fon.

masse L (OE mæsse, f.) mass

cf. Lat. missa

f. : he song pulke masse i-lome : for al-so heo bi-ginnez

133/941; þat hire singuth in dedlich sunne 430/340;

ane masse he i-heorde a day 57/140.

masse-boc L (OE mæsse-bōc, f.) missal

f? : ane masse-boc huy gonne take 58/157.

maðmes B (OE mād(u)m, m.) treasure

m. : ne bidda ich nanne maðmes 136/14.

maumet L, C (OF mahūmet, m.) idol

L : m. : huy cleopeden þat Maumet Astaroth : þat þoruz þe

deoueles mizte/ Ofte he wolde Answerie men : and

manie he bi-nam heom heore sizte 367/14.

C : [n.] : & offrede to þis maumet . & honoured it inow 325.

mele B (OE mēl, n.) meal, food-time

n? : islayene weoren to þon mele 346/6; iuorððed to ane

mele 358/12.

menbre L (OF membre, m.) part of body

m. : þe sunne ichulle for-ziue þe þanne : 3wane he is

fram þe i-cast 44/337.

mete B, L (OE mete, m.) food

B : m. : a þon lōnde he fund mete/ & he hine mid monscipe

biwon 6/13; þene drino & þene mete 55/21 ... to

heora scipe heo hit fuden.

[n.] : An his dæles wes swa mochel mete/ þat hit wes

vnimete 259/4.



mete (cont.)

L : m. : gistes wel gladliche bene mete he 3af 361/65; Ich  
coupe minne mete I-winne 327/155.

[n.] : blessi is mete are he it ete 19/612.

mid-niht B (OE mid-niht, f.) midnight

f. : a pa mid'niht heo nomen read 72/1; forð iwenden  
cnihtes/ to bere mid-nihte 11.388/13.

m? : he aras to pan mid-nihte 324/3.

miht B, L (OE miht, f.) might, power

B : f. : mid alle mire mihten 30/16.

L : f? : pine nigte mouwen i-seo 183/93.

milc B (OE meolc, f.) milk

f. : he halde pa milc in þat fur 51/11.

milce B (OE milts, f.) kindness, mercy

f. : a(-and) me do pine milce 199/21.

mile B, L (OE mīl, f.) mile

B : f. : ne leaste hit na wiht ane mile 248/10; & vmben are  
mile 11.88/3.

L : f? : hit nis up-riht fram þe eorþe : bote Ane mile opur  
two 317/602.

miracle L (OF miracle, m.) miracle

[n.] : þis Miracle was sone i-kud : ase riht was þat it  
were 77/229.

mist L (OE mist, m.) mist

m. : ȝwane þe sonne hath pudere i-drawe : bene mist  
for hete, 317/603

[n.] : It ne may no feor for þe colde : ake bi-cometh al  
to wete 317/604.

mod B (OE mōd, n.) mind

[n.]: Nā ich wulle wende mi mod 376/23; whar þu þat mod  
nime 11.619/3.

mod-kare B (OE mōdcaru, f.) sorrow, grief

m. : & þolede þene mod-kare 132/11; cf. care.

mon-kun B (OE manncynn, n.) mankind

n. : al þat smale mon-kun 19/16; he nom of þan monkunne 94/4.

mone L (OE mōna, m.) moon

f. : Ase man may bi þe Mone 1-seo : þe 3wyle heo is neowe  
ri3t 312/451; Ri3t so Blac as al þe mone : of hire-sulf,  
1-wis 312/454; bote þare ase þe sonne schynez : þat  
hire li3t 3if hire al 312/455.

moneð B (OE mōnaþ, m.) month

m. : þe dihteð þane moneð & þe 3er 308/8.

monschiþe B (OE mannschiþe, m.) kindness

f. : biðenc o þire monschipe 214/7.

mossel C (OF morsel, m.) bite, mouthful

[n.]: þe mossel he dude in to is moup : ac þe king it  
blessed er 7028. Hit bileuede amide is prote 7029.

mouth L (OE mūþ, m.) mouth

m. : 3if ich radde him for-ta-bouwien : al-to þe kingus  
wille/ Min owene Mouth him-sulf demez : al-holi  
churche to spille 131/876; ich lixni minne owene  
Mouth 333/353.

mulleston L (OE mylenstān, m.) grindstone

m. : A Mulleston, he scholde al-to-driue : þei he of  
molten bras were 316/580.

murehðe, murhðe B (OE *myr(i)gþ*, *myrhð*, f.) mirth, joy, delight

f. : þer wes swa muchel murehðe/ þat ne mihte heo beon  
na mare 218/4; & mid muchelere murhðe 11.196/6  
muðes þer custen.

neode B (OE *nēod*, *nīed*, f.) need; necessity

f. : þe king isæh þe neode 406/14; com to þere neode  
318/15; cumen to þire neode 231/4; Brutus hine  
bi-þohte/ Of swlchere neode 29/11.

niht B, niht L (OE *niht*, f.) night cf. sonen-niht

B : f. : & alle þa nihte 340/20 greiðeden his cnihtes; þa  
com to þere nihte 71/21; an are nihte firste 371/10;  
al bi bustere nihte 323/10.

m. : Nes he þer buten enne niht 401/13; his mon-scipe  
hæzen/ dæiges and nihtes 111.247/10.

n? : a þet þ justere niht 418/6 to-dælde heore muchele  
fiht; þer weore al þat fiht i-don/ ah þat niht  
to raðe com 111.133/14.

L : f? : And nolde fur-ȝite neuere ane niht : his lore  
forto do 433/77.

nome, name B (OE *nama*, m.) name

m. : leiden adun þene noma 86/18; he ȝef hire to hire  
t'fulne name 86/12; heo scuþten heore lauerde/  
enne nome neowe 111.233/9.

norð B (OE *norþ*, adv. adj.) northern part of the country

n. : Albanac hefde al þat norð 90/19.



noyse L (OF noise, f.) noise, sound

[n.]: gret noyse a-non þare is/ Ake men ne heorez it  
nouzt a-non : for it is so feor, i-wis 315/546.

ofspreng C (OE of-spring, m.) offspring

[n.]: þo adam was verst imaked.& his ofspreng wax wide.  
...  
Suppe it wax wide aboute.fram londe to londe 202.

ordre L, C (OF ordre, m.) religious order

L : f. : And þei þis ordre were i-maud : i-confermed nas  
heo nouzt 59/177; ase huy bi-gunnen furst þe ordre  
to bringue as þare to ende 60/235.

[n.]: So þat þe ordre of frere prechours : seint Domenic  
bi-gan þo/ þat hath i-saued wel mani a man : and  
ȝeot it schal wel mo 280/101.

C : m/f.: Ac þe ordre of greye monekes . was bigonne er.  
At Cisteus ar he hider come.nyene & tuenti ȝer 9085.

oresun L (OF oreisun, f.) orison, prayer

[n.]: Euereche dai bi custome : he seide þis oresun,  
....  
In a dai he it fur-ȝat:he hadde so mucche to done  
437/217.

ost C (OF (h)ost, m. f.) army

m/f.: þe cristine ost smot him out.þo he time isay 8322.

otur L (OE oter, ottor, m.) otter

m. : An.Otur.þare cam gon/ Bi-twene is forþere fet he  
brouzte : a fuyr-Ire anȝ a ston 237/643.

ouene L (OE ofen, m.) oven, furnace

m/f. : an Ouene he liet hete/ þat heo was al glowinde

fuyr : are huy wolden lete 388/390.

oynement L (OF oignement, m.) ointment

[n.]: "Sire, it is an oynement": þeos pilgrimes seden,

"þe guode woman zeorne us bad : to þe holie church

it lede 245/186.

palefrey L (OF palefrei, m.) palfrey

[n.]: huy ne mighten make hire palefrey : þat it ane fote

wolde gon 51/166.

paleis L (OF palais, m.) palace

[n.]: he Axede was þat paleys were: þat so riche was and heiz;

Men seiden him þat it was his ... 54/15.

pallion L (OF pallion, m.) archbishop's pall

[n.]: þis holi Man it a-fonge: with wel milde þouzt 115/314.

partie L (OF part, f.) part

f? : Ake ane partie of þe swete croiz...he toc 13/403.

peire L (OF pair, m.) pair

m? : Ake euere he hadde ane peire feteres ... 107/20.

penaunce L (OF penance, f.) penance

f. : for-to huy habben to ende i-brougt/ penaunce

a-cordinde to heore sunne : and aftur þe preostas

nouht/ 3if heo is more þane þe sunne : and a man

[ð.]: it do, i-wis/ Al it schal in heouene twayne : to

echingue of his blis 421/40.

peni B, L (OE penig, pening, m.) penny

B : m. : ðe king enne peni 3ette 111.285/21.

L : m. : and þane peni to him drou3 285/251; Icholde ech  
man me hadde ane peny 1-3yue 304/155.

perche L (OF perche, f.) perch, pole

f? : Ane perche he nam, and mat a-boute ... 381/155.

pes C (OF pais, f.) peace

[n.]: & bed vor þe pes of þe lond.þat god it sende god 6817.

place L, C (OF place, f.) place

L : f? : Seint Dunston him bad ane place 20/35; þat man ne  
mizte finde ane antie place 207/243.

C : [n.]: A veir place hii chose hom .../ & astored it wel  
inou . & hor god þuder in bere 418. Cf. þer þou  
ssalt finde an place . god inne to bileue 331.

pleize B (OE plega, m.) game, play; battle

m. : monine serhfulne pleize 97/2...þolede ich on folde.

pliht B (OE pliht, m.; cf. OE plihte, f.) harm; damage

m? : ne com ich to þissen londe/ ne for nane plihte 405/6.

pors L (OE purs, f.; cf. OE posa, m.) purse cf. Lat. bursa

m. : he wende and nam up þat pors : and openede him  
a-non 62/291.

Port-chestre B (cf. OE ceaster, f.)

f. : þa wes Port-chestre/ burh mid þan bezste/ ah mid  
þan wind-ræsen/ al heo gunnen to-reosen 394/12.

poynt L (OF point, m.) point

m. : And pi3te þane poynt a luyte in þe eorþe 256/25.



poyson C (OF poison, m.) poison

[n.] : Vor þe poyson in is alep . þe veines so þoru soȝte.

þat it of eode al þat body . ... 3173.

prison L (OF prison, f.) prison

m. : þane priscn for-to wite 460/133.

prute B (OE prȳte, prȳt, f.) pride

f. : mid baldere prute 357/17.

put L (OE pytt, m.) pit, hole, grave

cf. Lat. puteus

m. : In þe churche-ȝerd is þat ilke putt : ... he is

bi-walled faste a-bote 200/13; þane put he let

faste closi a-boute 200/10; makede ane put in

Irlonde 199/1.

[n.] : heo comen and stoden ouer a put : wyd it was and

deop i-nov3 210/357.

quale-hus B (OE cwalu+hūs, n.) torture house

n? : (ibrout) of þan quale-huse 31/20; heo duden heo

on quarterne/ in ane quale-huse 160/14.

quartern B (OE cweartern, n.) prison

n? : vt of þon quarterne 31/19.

ræf B (OE rēaf, n.) spoil, booty

? : & letten þa ræf liggen 367/10.

reas B (OE rās, m.) onslaught, attack

m. : moni grimne reas 97/3 þolede ich on folde; æt þon

frum reasen 369/14.

ræuinge B (OE *rēafung*, f.) plundering

f. : of þere ræuinge 112/14.

rauon L (OE *hræfn*, m.) raven

m. : þare cam fleo a Rauon : and a-down þare bi he  
a-lizte 188/139.

read B, rede B, L, red B, L, C (OE *rād*, m.) advice

B : m. : & dude þene beste red 132/9; alle heo nomen  
enne read 89/6; þisne read halde we alle 228/17;  
þe sunen duden vuelne ræd 107/19.

L : m. : þat he heom 3af þane red 179/23.

C : m. : þat 3eue þan colde red 2775; ne can ich nanne red  
9121.

rein B (OE *reg(e)n*, *rēn*, m.) rain

m. : þa iweard' hit an ane time/ þe reīn him gon rine  
11.405/7; þa þe rein wes agan 166/7.

rente L (OF *rente*, f.) rent, tax

f? : (he exede) Eche 3ere ane certeyne rente 117/390.

reste L (OE *rest*, f.; cf. OF *rest*, f.) rest, repose

[n.] : For-to habbe sum reste þere : 3if ore louerd it  
wolde him sende 259/110.

revle L (OF *reule*, f.) rule

cf. Lat. *regula*

f. : þo þe pope is Revle iseiz : þat heo wes clene  
and guod 59/198.

[n.] : In is herte he grauntede it 59/200.

riche B, L (OE *rice*, n.) power; realm, kingdom

B : f. : His moder nom þas riche/and mid ræde heo walde 270/16;

riche (cont.)

B : f. : bi-witen pine riche 187/15; uaren of pere riche  
386/15; ut of bissere riche 230/22.

n. : he welde pat riche hær 165/20; god king i pan rich  
111.222/15.

L : [n.] : (come) with pine breþren in mine riche : for it  
schal euere i-leste 416/451.

riche-dom B (OE rīce-dōm, m.) power, rule; dominion

m. : for pan riche-dom of Rome 255/2; þat ne isæh no mon  
nauer ær/ mid eorðliche monne her/ half swa hahne  
richedom 11.607/3.

rihte B, riht L (OE riht, n.) right, justice

B : n. : 3if her is æni cniht/ þe of Eueline axed riht/  
come to mine herede/ & þer he hit scal habben 351/5;  
þat riht 11.413/13; temest to pan rihten 11.620/19;  
mid nane rihte ne mai ich hine for-don 379/16.

f. : buten to bi3iten mine rihte/ & ic heo wulle bi-winnen  
405/7-8.

L : [n.] : þis guode Man flev al Engeland; for holi church e ri3te;  
Of al is wo ne 3af he nou3t; 3if he it a-mendi mi3te  
137/1094.

ring B, C, ryng L (OE hring, m.) ring

B : m. : and iho sende þe gretinge/ of mine gold ringe 192/19;  
ælc hafde on heonde/ gretne ring of golde 11.617/21;  
and salde him an honde/ renne ring of rede golde 111.  
237/17.



ring (cont.)

L : m. : þane ryng he louede wel inouȝ : and for þe loue of  
 seint Iohan/ ȝuyt he hine ȝaf þe pouere manne  
 417/506-7; he ȝef þeosne ryng 417/511; For-to ȝiue  
 þis poere Man : bote ane guyltene ring 417/505.

C : m. : & þen ring isey 7150.

robe L (OF robe, f.) robe

m. : þe Abite of Monek he nam/ And a-boue-al þan clerkene  
 Robe : ase to is stat bi-com 116/324.

roche L (OF roche, f.) rock

m? : (iseiȝen) One harde roche In þe se...þare ouer þe  
 se caste i-lome : and ofte he was bar 234/522.

rode B, L, C (OE rōd, f.) rood, cross

B : f. : to vinden þa rode 11.41/5; þeo Judeus heo sohten/  
 & þere quene heo itæhten 11.41/8-9; þe king nom  
ane rode 11.504/15.

L : f. : For a rode ich smot a swiþe deop wounde : and heo  
 bledde on me þis 17/538; þe rode bar a-non-riȝt a-weī:  
 and in a deop put hire caste 16/528; And spatten on  
hure 17/554; þo þe rode was þare i-founde : alle þe  
 giwes as nome 17/551. Cf. he 12/392.

C : m. : þe rode hit þolede longe . ac supþe attelaste.  
He pulte him mid is vot.& adoun vpriȝt him caste 8635;  
 & sette is vpe þe rode heued.& sede þat he alone 6596  
 Was worþe to croune bere.

rof B (OE hrōf, m.) roof; top

m. : þe king feol on þene rof 123/3.

Rome B (OE Rōm, f.) Rome

f. : 3if Rome scal for-leosen/... heore muchele wurhscipe  
404/24; þat mine ældre hire biwunnen 405/1, [hit 337/21].

rop B, L (OE rāp, m.) rope

B : m. : Heo wurpen ut enne rap/ & Baldulf hine faste igrap  
11.492/23-24.

L : m? : And teiden ane rop a-bote is necke 29/91.

rug B, L (OE hrycg, m.) back, spine, ridge

B : m. : þat him þe rug for-berst 81/12; brac him bi þon  
rugge 81/1 feower of his ribben.

L : [n.] : Al i-buyd is þe rug:so þat nei3 round it is 320/728.

rým-forst L (OE hrīm, m. + forst, m.) rime, hoar/frost

m. : And þarof comez þe Rým-forst:ase þilke Mist deth fleo;  
he cleouez on hegges al a-bovte:and In þe wodes al-so,

[n.] : On treo, on stones, on bestes al-so:pare it may  
cleouien to- 317/623-24.

sæ B, sea L, se L (OE sǣ, m. f.) sea

B : f. : bi Ruscikadan heo nomen þa sæ 54/23; Leir ferde to  
þere sæ 149/1.

L : f. : þe se was brenninde al-a-brod : ase þei heo were  
a-fuyre 233/485; þe se with-drauth hire twies aday  
303/136; þat þe se ire wolde so with-drawe 338/513.

sætnesse B (OE (ge)sæhtnes, f.) agreement, decree

f. : heo makeden ane sætnesse/ and mid a3e heo sæmde  
181/22-23.

sak L (OE sacc, m.) sack, bag

? OE sæcc, m. 'sacking'

[n.]: A luyte blac sak ase þei it were : þis foules a-mong

heom bere/ huy casten it up fram on to opur : ase

huy it al-to-drowe and to-tere 437/198.

salt L (OF sealt, salt, n.) salt

n. : it 187/94.

sar B (OE sār, n.) sorrow, pain, grief

n. : & mænen to him mi sar 354/8.

Saturday L (OE Sæter-dæg, m.) Saturday

m. : þare-fore Men schoniez muche : þene satur-day

bi-gynne 312/445.

saule B, soule L (OE sāl, sāwol, f.) soul

B : f. : & for his awne saule/ þat hire þe selre beo 4/8;

& beden for þere soole 11.113/9; deled for mire saule  
11.324/12.

L : f. : Ake 3wane a man is on eorþe ded : and is soule beo guod/  
heo nath with hire non heuinesse : ... 314/500; heo  
nome alle þeos holi soule : and bi-fore ore louerd sone/  
brouzten hire with loye and blisse ... 172/2304; mine  
soule ich god bi-take 42/275.

m. : his soule, þo he was ded : to heouene he gan i-wiende  
366/55; Mid rihte þi soule Maister is : and þi bodi  
is hyne schal beo 93/58.

saume L (OF salme, saume, m.; cf. OE sealm, salm, m.) psalm

m/f. : Of þe sauter þe laste saume : bi-fore þe Euensongus  
i-wis/ of corsingue and of lufere men : and of  
mansingue i-maked heo is 355/341.



sauter L (OF sautier, m.; cf. OE saltere, m.) psalter

m. : þo makede he þere pene sauter 9/271.

scæde B (OE scēap, f.) sheath

f. : & braid hine of þere scæde 349/8.

scale B (OE scalu, f.) dish, cup

f. : Ana scale he bear an honde 50/19; milc wes i þere  
scale 50/21.

sceld B, sseld C (OE sciold, m.) shield

B : m. : he was al clane 11.576/16 of olifantes bane; and  
Nennius pene sceld 322/1 (heold); nefde he noht on  
his hond/ bute enne luttelne sceld 348/22; Leie a-dun  
þin hære scrud/ & þinne rede sceld 216/10.

C : [n.] : þat þe emperour ne miȝte it.out drawe mid al is mayn.  
1137.

schep L (OE scēap, n.) sheep

n. : hit 63/321; it 63/322.

schurte L (OE scyrte, f.) skirt, tunic

f. : þis schurte þat is a-boute me : for-brennez me to  
grounde/ Drawez hire of for godes loue ... 283/189.

scip B, schip L (OE scip, n.) ship

B : n. : þat scip 11.579/25; He iseh a scip þar hit lað 194/6;  
& senden ha þe in ane scipe 135/10.

L : n. : hit 37/132; it 232/460; þat schip wende forth bi  
him-seolf 37/132.

slabbe L (13th c.; etym.dub.) slab

m/f? : Ase ȝif a man nome ane slabbe of Ire 315/531.

scome B (OE scamu, f.) shame

m. : ne do þu me neu'e þane scome 214/18; whulcne scome

he him hæfden idon 393/2; For þan weorlde scome 20/3.

scrit C (OF escript, escrit, m.) script, writing

[n.]: & þat scrit dude iwis/ In þe tresorie at westmunstre.

þere it 3ut is 7683.

scute B (OE soyte, m.) stroke, blow, shot

m. : & þene scute bi-berh 62/16.

seahte B (OE sehte, f.; cf. OE seht, m.) settlement, agreement

f. : mid mocheleere seahte 156/9.

sed L (OE sēd, n.) seed

n. : it 319/702; hit bi-comez to a picke blod : and

chaungez al is bleo 320/713.

sege L (OF sege, siege, m.) seat, throne; siege

m? : On-ouewarde þe tour a-midde al þis : ane sege he

liet a-rere 13/415.

seil-clæð B (OE segl, n.m. + clāp, m.) sail-cloth

n? : sulkene wes þat seil-clæð 194/7.

seorege, seorwe B (OE sorg, f.) sorrow, grief

f. : & of þare seorege 171/19; þurh hefezere seorwe 118/23.

sereuunge B (cf. OE nouns in -ung, f.)

f. : hit wes al isomned/ & (=at?) þere sereuunge 346/15.

sibba B (OE sibb, f.) friendship; peace

f. : mid muchelere sibba 156/8.

[ n.]: Wha swa wulle libba/ alde þas sibba/ & 3ef o man

hit wille breken 155/21 on ueste it bide iwreken.

sibe-laze B (OF.cOE lagu, f.) law of affinity

f. : for þare sibe-laze 18/15 luue hem wes bi-tweonen.

side B, L (OE sīde, f.) side

B : f. : a þere side he smat Herigal 359/12; & þe bi mire

side 336/18 isund seȝe riden; on ælchere siden 27/9.

L : f. : "þou wrechche", he sede, "þou hast i-rosted : þulke

one side i-nþou3/ Torne hire opward and. et. hire

noupe : for ȝare heo is þare-to" 345/170.

signe L (OF seigne, m.; of. OE segn, m. n.) sign

m? : he deth ane signe in þe bodie 322/792.

siht B, sigt L (OE gesihþ, gesiht, f.) sight

B : f. : Bruttes weoren sari/ for swulohere isihðe 11.161/2;

m? : þat nenne siht of londe/ iseon heo ne mahten 11.455/3.

L : [n.] : mi sigt me was bi-nome... it is me aȝein i-come 341/51.

sið B (OE sīþ, m.) time, occasion

f/ m? : nulle we þe trukien/ neuer ane siðen 186/12.

slæd B (OE slæd, n.) slade, valley

n? : (ferde) in to ane muchele slæde 366/7.

sleht B (OE sliht, sleaht, m.) slaughter

m? : swiðe heo was sari/ for sorehfulle þan slehte 170/14.

smul L (not found in OE; m. in Ayenbyte of Inwyt) smell

[n.] : þare cam a-non so swote smul:ase hit fram heouene  
were 15/495.

sond B (OE sand, n.) sand; sea shore

n. : þer þa sea wasceð þ sond 6/17; þa scipen biten on

þat sond 76/9.



sonde B (OF sand, f.) message

f. : he sende ane sonde him to 264/9; wordſchepe haue þu/  
þire wel-deda/ & þire feire sonde 134/8.

sonenday L (OE sunnan-dæg, m.) Sunday

m. : þene sonenday þar nas no court i-holde 132/899.

sonen-nyȝht L (OE sunnan-hiht, f.) Saturday night

m. : þene sonen-nyȝht wal tyme : his seruise he gan to do  
416/458; þene sonen-nyȝht he wakede 479/608.

song L (OE sang, song, m.) song

[n.] : For ȝuyt men it singueth in holie churche 16/508.

souwe L (OE sugu, sū, f.) sow

f. : þo bi-gan þe souwe a-non ... To beo ful of schabbe  
and of buyles ... þat heo orn out al of quiture :  
and ase þat folk i-saiȝ/ In wrechhede and in sorewe  
inov : heo deide þane þridde day 62/310-11.

soð B (OE sōþ, n.) sooth

[n.] : soð seiðe Membrici' / & alle hit bi-luueden 43/20;  
fondien þat soþe 11.225/7.

speche, speke B (OE spæc, spræc, f.) speech, language

f. : of þissere speche he wes wer 378/18; mid greiðlicre  
speche 19/25.

[n.] : Heora aȝeine speke Troinisce/ seoððen heo hit  
cleopeden Brutunise 83/23.

spence L (cf. OF despence, f.)

[n.] : bote ȝat nolde he do for noþing : and of no man  
spence take/ And ȝwane persones it boden him :  
he it wolde for-sake 440/336.

spere B, L (OE *spero*, n.) spear

B : n. : he igrap his spere stronge/ þer he pihte hit o þon  
londe 277/1; (leide a-dun) and þi spere longe 216/11.

m. : and nom on his honde/ a spere imaked of stele/  
& bi-waleted hine a blode 111.106/17.

L : m? : þe Aumperor let nimen ane spere 179/21.

stæf B, staf B, L (OE *stæf*, m.) staff, stick

B : m. : & mid þan stæus to-draf 348/6; Up he læc þene staf  
111.189/15.

L : m. : þe staf wende into þe marbreston ... / And þo heo  
was inne deope i-nouz : þe guode Man hine liet stonde  
75/142; Ane staf he nom op-on is hond : holuz he was  
with-inne 250/341; þat o 3weol to-brak þane false  
staf 250/360.

[n.]: Cristofre is staf nam/ And piȝte hit in þe grounde  
a-morewe 274/110.

stan B, ston L (OE *stān*, m.) stone

B : m. : Vp he sette þene stan/ ȝet he þer stondeð 425/6-7;  
·Nomehhim scupte þe king 425/10; and smat in enne  
muchele stane 98/9; doh a-wai þisne stan 11.242/18.

L : m. : þe stones arisen op a-ȝen ... And ech lai in his  
riȝte stude ... 15/491; þe ston þat ich op-on sitte  
... In one weiȝe ich hyne fond 235/578; Liȝtloker  
man may þane hardeste ston : make nesche ase wolle  
194/31; With hire blessingue heo turnede to salte :  
ane wel grete ston 193/48.

[n.]: in a fenni dich it caste 235/579.

stede B, L (OE stēda, m.) steed, stallion

B : m. : And þat deor up stod/ and ræde o þene stede/  
and for-bat him þa breste 277/7-8.

L : f. : his cosin nam his stede sone:and hamward he gan wiende  
And to is owene bi-hofþe faste ire heold 430/360.

stefne B (OE stefn, f.) voice

f. : þa quað Membrici'/ ludere stefne 40/7; mid ludere  
stefne 61/7.

sterre B, steorre L, sterre C (OE steorra, m.) star

B : m. : þa isehzen heo feorre/ ænne selcuðe sterre/ he was  
brad he was muchel/ he was unimete/ of him comen  
leomen 11.325/14-17; isah on þan sterre 111.224/24.

L : f. : And putte forth is hond and wolde hire take : ake  
he ne mizhte hire nouzt a-reche 33/121 Ake þe steorre  
gan softe to glide forth; þo heo cam ouer þulke  
place : heo houede þare æne stounde 33/127; Ane  
steorre he fond bi-fore þe dore 33/118.

C : m. : þe tepe 3er a sterre . þat comete icluped is.  
At alle halwen tid him ssewede.viftene nigt ywis 8601;  
An sterre gret & vair ynou . suiþe cler me sey.  
O cler leom wipoute mo.þer stod fram him wel pur 3177-8;  
þat ech man mizte wondri . þat sterre ise1.  
þer wende of him a lem.þat toward þe norþ drou 11410.  
f. : þat þe taylede sterre . men clupeþ mid rizte.  
Vor þer comp fram hire a lem.suiþe cler & brizte 8603.



stowe B (OE stōw, f.) place

f. : makian ich wille on þine nome/ weren ane stowe 51/24;  
vppen are stouwe 122/23.

stream B, strem B, L (OE strēam, m.) stream

B : m. : ofer þane saltne strem 261/5; þe leide in ane walle  
stream 121/6.

L : m. : to hente þane strem of blode 17/558.

streng B (OE streng, m.) string

m. : & he þene streng up braid 62/9.

strengð B (OE strengþ(o), f.) strength

f. : cuð nu þine strengða 65/24; mid richere strengðe 33/9.

stret, stræt B (OE stræt, f.) street, road

f. : He bigon ane stræte 205/19; Fosse heo clupeden 205/24;  
and forð rihtes wende/ into Winchestre/ in are brade  
stræte 11.336/10.

stroc C (OE\*strāo, cf. strica, m.) stroke

m. : & ȝut he hente þene stroc 395; Anne stroc he ȝef him  
4576.

strond B (OE strand, n.) strand, sea-shore

n. : framward þan stronde 401/15; soipen eoden a þat strond  
11.313/13.

stude B, L, C, stede L, C (OE styde, stede, m.) place

B : m. : ful neh þan ilke stude 6/18; heo arærden enne burȝe/  
an enne swiðe feire stude 408/19; & wurdeden þene  
stude 11.298/4.

[n.]: þe stude wes AElenge/ nu hatte hit Stan-henge 11.211/23.

stude (cont.)

L : m? : ane derne stude huy fonde 298/63.

C : m. : Vor he let ben stede halwy 3223; & nameliche of  
 þin vnriht.ichabbe gret dedeyn/ þat þou to þe noble  
 stude of rome.dest mid al þi mayn/ & þat þou nelt  
him iknowe.ne do þin seruage 3995.

[ n.]: In a stude þat me clupede . staunford brugge þo.  
 Ac nou me clupeþ it bataile brugge . uor þa bataile  
 þat was þo 7295.

stunde, stonde B, stounde L (OE stund, f.) moment, time

B : f. : & þus ane stonde 132/13 hit stod æ ðon ilka; in  
are lutle stunde 78/10.

L : f? : heo houede þare ane stounde 33/127.

summe L (OF summe, f.) sum of money

f? : After is wille ane summe of panes : i-deld bi-eche  
 side 117/386.

summer B (OE sumor, m.) summer

m? : toward þan sum'e 382/20.

sunne<sup>1</sup> B, sonne L (OE sunne, f.; cf. OE sunna, m.) sun

B : f. : vnder þere sunnen 11.627/24.

m. : Saturnus heo 3iuen sætterdæi/ þene Sunne heo 3iuen  
 sonedæi 11.158/14.

L : f. : þe sonne þat was erore so cler : deork heo is bi-come  
 145/1377; þat hire li3t habbeth bi-nome 146/1378.

m. : So þat þe sonne bi-fore geth:luyte and luyte, i-wis,  
 And schyneth on þe hiderore half:on þulke þat ner  
him is 313/466.

sunne<sup>1</sup> (cont.)

L : [n.] : Ase an Appel þe eorþe is round:so þat euere-mo  
 half þe eorþe þe sonne bi-schineth:hov-so it euere go  
 311/408.

sunne<sup>2</sup> B, L (OE synn, f.) sin

B : f. : Of us naue þu nane sunne 11.108/18; þis ilke wes  
 a god kinge/ buten of þere sunne 111.155/1.

L : f. : Forȝif me þulke lupere sunne : i-nelle don as neuereft  
 more 44/334.

sweord B, suerd L, C (OE sweord, n.) sword

B : n. : hit 321/21; þat sweord 66/18; Breid he mid swiðeren  
hond/ a sweord muchel & swiðe strong 66/9; (leie  
 a-dun ...) and þi sward stronge 216/12.

L : n. : it 184/123.

C : n. : it 3616.

n/m? : for þer nas in al þe world . suerd him illiche 1140.  
 vor þer non wip him iwonded.þat euere keueri miȝte 1141.

sweore, swure B (OE swēora, m.) neck

m. : heo cœrf him þene swure atwa 171/9; and swat (smat)  
 hit a þan sweore 277/3.

f. : and mid þan ane he smat/ i þere swere þe cniht 11.535/1.

swikedom B (OE swic-dōm, m.) deceit, treason

m. : of þon swikedome 235/9; þ he nuste þene swikedom  
 11.200/13; þesne swikedom to dihten 11.316/14.

swin B (OE swīn, n.) wild boar, swine, pig

n. : þat wilde swin 20/23.



swinc B (OE (ge)swinc, n.) toil, labour; effort

n. : and þu mi michele swinc 97/17 mid sare forȝeldest;  
to þolien þat swuc (=swinc) & þ iwin 11.102/6.

swipe B (OE swipa, m.; cf. OE swipe, f.) stroke, sweep

m. : þat of þen ilke sweorde/ enne swipe hefde 326/20;  
Mid þan formeste swipen 111.284/9 her comen þreo  
hundred scipen.

table L (OF table, f.) table

f? : Ane table of Marbre In is hond : þe on bar at-fore  
heom alle 197/112.

taillage L (OF taillage, m.) tribute

[n.] : A taillage þov taxt fram ȝer to ȝer : þoruz-out  
al þi londe/ And axest it for a certeine rente... 118/398.

taken B (OE tācen, n.) token, sign

n. : þ taken 56/13; & sæle us of þan tacne 11.326/23.

tale<sup>1</sup> B, L (OE talu, f.) tale, story

B : f. : Efne þare ilke tale 111.52/17 þa cleopede þe kaisere;  
seoððen hit seið in þere tale 11.538/17; of þissere  
uncuðe talen 11.229/7.

L : f. : he bi-gan to telle is tale : ȝoruz is owene Mouth  
And are he hadde al i-told : heo was swyðe selcouth  
109/98.

tale<sup>2</sup> B (OE (ge)tæl, n.) number

[cf. itel]

f? : of lasse scipen þar weoren swa fele/ þat nuste na  
man þe tale 316/1.

Temese B (OE Temes, f.) the Thames

f. : heo turneden to hauene/ inne bare Temese 316/7.

tempest L (OF tempeste, f. (11th c.); tempest, m. (13th c.)) tempest

m? : þe tempeste is ful strong ... þat þei þare were þere/

A Mulleston, he scholde al-to-driue ... 316/580.

temple B, L (OE tempel, n.; OF temple, m.) temple

B : [n.] : þe wrse hit hafde to welden 49/3.

f. : Temple heo funden þer ane 48/25; Brutus ferde in to

þere temple 50/15; feire hine leiden/ in are riche

temple 183/5.

L : f. : Aftur him bulde þe temple forth:al-þat heo 3are were

9/276; "I-seo 3e", he sede, "þis temple alle: ...

Ich hote hire in mine louerdes name : þat heo falle

a-non 407/189; he liet ane temple of Maumates : in

þulke stude a-rere 10/327.

teone B (OE tēone, f.; cf. OE tēona, m.) injury, harm

f. : for nauer nare teonen 186/10 nulle we þe trukien.

tide B, L (OE tīd, f.) time, period

B : f. : Hit ilomp an are tide 11.200/15.

L : f? : Al ane tide of þe daye : we weren in deorkhede 221/37.

tidende, tiðende B (ON tíðendi, n. pl.) tidings

n. : þa þuhte Elmuðerie/ þat tiðende swiðe murie 432/21;

after þen heðene tidende 17/23 þe wes i þan londe.

time B, L (OE tīma, m.) time

B : m. : þa þe time com 13/14; An þan ilke time 165/23;

Hit wes an ane time 309/2.

L : m? : god wolde a-bide ane guode tyme 175/2409.

tibingue, bibingue L (cf. LOE tīdung, f.) tidings

f? : he seide þat one tibingue to him 6/190; Ane Ioyeful

þyþigue ich ecu telle 105/157.

toppe B (OE topp, n.) top, head; lock of hair

m? : bi þone topp he hine nom 30/1.

toumbe L, tumbe C (OF tumbē, f.) tomb, tomb-stone

L : f. : For ȝwane men comen ofte to is toumbe : ase liȝthliche  
up huy as bere 52/189.

C :[n.] : In an tumbē suiþe heȝ . þat hii miȝte hit ver yse 2617.

toungue L (OE tunge, f.) tongue

f. : þi toungue moste bien i-schaue to speche heo is to  
freo 465/108.

tourn L (OF torne, f.) turn, trick

m. : he pleyde with þe fallingue tourn : so wel he coupe  
hine do 304/176.

tree B, L (OE trēow, n.) tree

B : n. : ah he þat tree smat iii.35/3; heo seiden þat he  
sculde beon an-hongen/ an one heȝe treowe 44/7.

L : n. : it 7/204; hit 8/264.

tresor L (OF tresor, m.) treasure

[n.] : Seint Fraunceys nam þat tresor : þo þe oþur it for-sok  
55/65.

tricherie L (OF tricherie, f.) treachery, deceit

[n.] : And symon Magus-is tricherie : op-on him-sulf it  
gan i-wiende 334/368.

Troye B

f. : & ane neowe Troye þar makian 53/12.

[n.] : fleh ut of Troye/ þa Crickes hit bi-wnnan 58/17.



truage C (OF truage, treuage, m.) tribute

m. : þe king of denemarch ber.eche 3er wiþ lawe.

Truage to Engeland.&bigan him to wiþdrawe 910.

[n.]: Vow me þincheþ mid vnriȝt.hil escheþ vs truage.

Vor Iuli cesar hit nom verst.mid strengþe & outrage.

4038.

tun B, toun L, C (OE tūn, m.) dwelling, town

B : m. : Arður ȝæf him þene tun 111.114/8.

L : m. : and made þene toun wel bar 297/20.

C : m. : he clupede þen toun iwis/ After his name gloucestre.

as he ȝut icluped is 1520-21; Ac so ne clupede he him

noȝt . ac þe niewe troye 534; his fon asailed þene

toun 6121.

[n.]: He made þe toun of euerwik.þat strong is þoru alle þing.

After is name ebrau.euerwik cluped it wel 650.

tunne B, tonne L (OE tunne, f.) cask; tub, vat

B : f. : heo makeden ane tunne 259/14 of golde and of ȝimne/  
þene king heo duden þer inne.

L : f? : he liet makie ane tonne of bras : for-to berne heom  
þare-inne 401/298.

tur B (OE tūr, m.; OF tur, f.) tower, fortress

m. : vp heo hine duden heȝe/ an ufenmeste þan turre 259/19;  
to Oðres þeon ture 332/24; Gurmunt makede enne tur  
111.170/15.

f. : þe tur wes muchel and hæh/.../ þe kēisere hire ȝæf  
nome/ & Oðres heo cleopede 331/23-24; He bigon þer  
ane ture 258/13; þe king in þære ture læi 290/21;

tur (cont.)

f. : In are swiðe stronge tur 290/18 heo duden þene king  
Elidur.

n. : and of castles nes þer na þing/ bute þat tur þe  
makede Belin king 302/8.

Tyre B - the Tiber

f. : I þere Tyre he eode alond 6/16.

Tyuesday L (OE Tīwesdæg, m.) Tuesday

m. : A-morewe, þane tyuesday:ore louerd him gan a-rere  
132/909.

þær v. veær.þechene B (cf. OE þæcele, f.) torch

f. : AElc beorn hæfde on heonde/ ane þechene beorninde 345/9.

þeode B (OE þēod, f.) nation, people

f. : he is icumen to þere þeoden 390/22; Mine þrales  
i mire þeode 22/2 me suluen þretiað; We scullen  
of þissere þeode 231/3 cumen to þire neode.

þing B, L (OE þing, n.) thing

B : n. : þat þing 148/22; and duden þer a selcuð þing 291/22.

L : n. : it 231/441.

þoresdai L (OE þūres-dæg, m.) Thursday

m. : Sone morewe, þene þores-dai : to lincolne he cam  
138/1126.

þorn L (OE þorn, m.) thorn

m? : And seche ane þorn in kovbache ... 353/275.

bouȝht L (OE geboht, m.) thought

[n.]: "Ich wot wel þi bouȝht", ... "þei þou it holde stille"

88/47.

þoumbe L (OE þūma, m.) thumb

m. : for mannes þoumbe strenguest is : þare-fore he hatte

"þe strongue". 308/316.

þrowe B (OE þræg, f.) time

f. : Ne tah hine aȝein ane þrowe 28/4.

þruppe B (v. Stratmann: ?) passage

f. : ilead to þære þruppe 23/16.

þunre, þondre L (OE þunor, m.) thunder

m. : þare-fore Men suggez þat wynter-þondre : selde man

schal guod i-seo/ For he ne may neuere come : bote

þat weder onkuynde beo 315/560.

[n.]: ȝe mouwen axi, ȝwane it þundre is : I-meingt of fuyr

in wete/ hov is þat hit a-quellex men ... 316/566.

unneode B (cf. OE nēod, f.) misfortune, harm

f. : to his aȝre unneode 14/8.

weor B (cf. OE weal, n.) the slain

n. : þ heo nomen þ þær (man.sec. weor)/ & wel hit biburiede

36/12-13.

venim L (OF venin, m.) venom, poison

[n.]: And made heom drinke of þat venym :riȝth bi-fore is eyȝe/

A-non so it uoȝt with-inne hem can:bope huy gonne deyȝe.

408/218.



vuel B (OE yfel, n.) evil

n. : bat vuel 125/3.

wæi, wai B, wei B, L C, wey L, C (OE weg, n.) way, road

B : m. : riden penne ilke wæi 242/3; Ah flih flih pinne  
wæi ii.249/16; þa bisne wei us habbeoð for-uaren  
iii.91/4.

L : m. : Rigt pane wei þat ore louerd geode 15/472; I-ne  
can nanne wei 6/177; An ibore me alne wey 479/584.

[n.]: And þe bradore was is wei-so longe forth he eode,  
þat it was so broð þat þere miȝte a carte gon for  
neode 212/438.

C : m. : þen weȝ mid al is poer, aȝen hom vaste he nom 2456.

wæl<sup>1</sup> B (OE wæl, n.) slaughter; the slain

n. : þat wæl 175/16; Hamun ferde ȝeon þat wæl 395/21.

wæl<sup>2</sup> B (OE wela, n.) wealth

n. : al þat wæl & al þat gold 346/12 þe wes ȝeond al  
þeos kinges lond.

werc B, weork L (OE (go)weorc, n.) work

B : n. : þat werc 333/5.

L : n. : it 312/446.

wal B, L, C (OE weall, n.) wall

B : m. : Lud king lette legge pane wal/.../ þe auare ȝet  
haueð ilast/ & swa he wule ȝet wel longe 302/11-14;  
ouer þene wal heo clumben 402/3.

L : m? : So /longe/ þat he i-saiȝ ane wal 213/459.

C : m. : Bigonne to rere þon stronge wal.as it was hom ised.2184.

wal (cont.)

C : m. : Yrered he was strong ynou.as þe stede is 3ut ysene.2185.

wapmon-cun B (OE cf. OE cynn, n.) male-kind

n. : al þ wapmon-cun 22/8.

water B, L, C (OE water, n.) water; river

B : n. : hit 106/1; þæt water 76/3; 3ond þ<sup>t</sup> wide water 6/7.

L : n. : it 66/425; þæt watur bi-gan to berne a-non : a-3ein  
is kuynde, wel faste 246/192.

m? : For þo þis holie Man to water cam : þæt watur him  
with-drou3 69/65 And ouer þe broke made ane wei :  
druy3e and clene i-nou3.

C : n. : it 637.

wayn L (OE wegn, wæn, m.) carriage, cart

m. : huy comen and driue þane wayn 39/188.

weder B, L (OE weder, n.) sky; air; weather

B : n. : þæt weder 199/17; Heo ferdenu mid þon wedere 196/14.

L : n. : it 441/368.

wel-dede B (OE wel-dæd, f.) good deed

f. : wordaschepe haue þu/ þire wel-deda 134/7.

welle B, L (OE wielle, f.; of. OE wiell, wiella, m.) well

B : f. : irne to þere welle 11.405/12; to bi-witen heo mid  
ræin 11.405/15; & þa welle for-duden 11.408/3.

m? : buten cald welles stræm 11.405/18; six ampullen;  
fullen/ heo 3eoten i þan welle 11.406/10.

L : f. : heo is nouþe wel faire i-heoled:with freo ston, ase  
ri3t is 354/326.

weofed B (OE wēofod, n.) altar

n. : bat weofed 51/4; bi pan weofede 51/1.

weolcne B (OE wolcen, wolo, n.) cloud

f. : þere weolcne he wes swiðe nih 122/16; me þuhte  
 þat in þere weolcne 111.14/18; aquesen þa weolcne  
 11.583/18.

weored B (OE werod, n.) multitude, troop

n? : þe aht wes on þen weorede 184/11; þer he bale funde/  
 vppen ane weorede 110/7 of wflan awedde.

weorld, woruld B, world B, L, C (OE woruld, f.) world

B : f. : at þere worlde's ende at-stonde 313/13; to þissere  
 weorlde longe 111. 190/14.

n? : and halde þat worlde in his hond 307/18; for þan

m? : weorlde's scone 20/3.

L : m. : Al þene world he made of nouzt 181/29.

C : m. : þat holdeþ up þen world 2429.

west B (OE west, adv. adj.) west

n. : Bi-ʒende France i þet west 52/22; haueðe al þeð  
 west 161/8.

wi-æx B (OE wīg-æx, f.) battle-axe

f. : & igrap of onnes monnes honde/ ana wiax swiðe  
 stronge 67/3.

wif B, wijf L (OE wif, n.) wife, woman

B : n. : Feour winter he hauede þ wif 9/14; Madan hire  
 sune nom a wif 107/6; & euere he to þan wiue loh  
 111.31/14; me scende of mine wife 11.356/8; mines  
 wiues fader 11.247/4.



wif (cont.)

B : f. : and he hæfde a swiðe god wif/ & he heo leouede  
 also his lif 211/10; þæh hit weoren an eorles wif/  
 he bi-nom hire al hire æðelen 300/1.

L : f. : For he him hadde is wiȝf bi-nome : and imad hire  
 don amis 80/103.

wifmon, wimmon B, womman L, C (OE wifmann, m.) womman

B : m? : he funde enne feire wimman 409/16.

f. : & Gudlac ledde forh/ þa wifmon swiðe fæire/ & he  
heo bohte swiðe deore 204/19; feier wes þe wimmon/  
 & wunsam hire monen 7/23; he hæuede bi þare wimman  
 271/10 enne swiðe wandliche sune.

L : f. : For fellere þing nis non ase wumman : ȝware heo  
 wole to vuele wende 48/38; Neiz womman ich habbe  
 to mucche i-beo : i-nelle neiz hire come non-more  
 5/154; Ane womman ... he fond 327/152. Cf. he 47/33.

C : f. : þe king bad þe womman to segge soþ.& uor no þing lete.  
 þat heo ne sede in soþnesse.wo þat child biȝete 2735.

wilderne B (cf. OE wilddēor, wilddēoren) wilderness

m/n? : he ferde to þan wode/ to þan wilderne 23/8; (wende)  
 to ane wilderne 366/11; Vther lai inne Wales/ in  
anne wilderne 11.325/6.

wile B, ȝwile L (OE hwil, f.) while

B : f. : þe wile þe heo weren ifunde 29/8; Nes Brutus i þon  
 londe/ bute lutel ane wile 15/20; wa wes hire þere  
 while 111.138/1.

wile (cont.)

L : f. : þis holie Man at-stod ane 3wile 64/352; 3wi 3elstov  
mine 3wyle þus 254/504.

wille B, L (OE willa, m.; cf. OE gewill, gewile, n.) will; wish

B : M? : ich þe telle wile mine will 130/23; þu hauest þine  
 willen iseid 111.272/16; & makien æfter þine wille  
 grið 374/11.

[n.] : 3if mi fæder dude his wille/ nulle ich hit naht  
 1wurðen 261/17.

L : [n.] : þo heo saȝ gilbertus wille : þat it was so guod  
 111/167.

wind B, L, C, wynd L, C (OE wind, m.) wind

B : m. : þe wind com on weðere/ and þa sæ he wraðede 195/11;  
 leten laden þene wind 57/11.

L : m. : Ake so scharpe he bleuȝ and colde 205/184; ore  
 louerd ane wynd sende 89/71.

C : [m.] : & a wind a sein lukes sue.at londone in þe toun.

So gret it com þat it fulde.mon1 hous adoun 8585.

win-scence B (cf. OE scenc, m.) wine-draught

m? : for þon win-scenche 295/19.

winter B, C (OE winter, m.) winter

B : m. : Arður wes i Cornwale/ al þene winter þere 111.510/23.

n. : al þ winter heo wuneden here 382/17.

C : m. : & bileuede alne winter.to gadere in þis londe 1364.

wise B (OE wise, wis, f.) way, manner

f. : muchel folk þer was of-sclawen/ on moni are wisen  
 24/16.

wit B (OE gewitt, n.) wit, mind; knowledge

f. : þa hehte heo ane heste/ mid haiðere witte 105/23.

wode B, L (OE wudu, m.) wood

B : m. : bi-heold he bene wode hu he bleou 85/18; bene wude  
al bileien/ an an are halfe hine feolden 11.446/3;  
driuen heom in to enne hæhne wude 426/15.

L : m? : Fair wode þare was þulke tyme : ake noupe heo is  
al a-doune 48/43.

wode-lond B (OE wudu-land, n.) woodland

n? : I þon wode-londe 72/17.

wode-rime B (OE wudu-rima, m.) border of a forest

m? : i þon wode-rime 32/8.

wodnes-niht L (OE Wōdnes-niht, f.) Tuesday night

m. : his wei þane wodnes-niht : out of þe toune he nam  
138/1125.

wone L (OE (ge)wuna, m.) custom, habit

m? : eche ȝere hadden ane wone 198/9.

word B, L (OE word, n.) word

B : n. : hit 355/2; þ word 8/4.

L : n. : it 122/541.

worm L, C (OE wyrn, m.) worm; dragon

L & m. : ȝuyt he may here in þe grounde : ane luttel worm  
worm i-seo 407/162; þis worm turnede a-ȝen a-non :  
ase þis holie Man him het 452/124.

m/n. : Anon hadde þis lufere worm : is pouer al ilore,

[n.] : þat hit ne mizhte ane fot forþere passe 39/179-180.



worm (cont.)

C : m. : Ac after hom þer ssal arise . a worm of germanye.

& þe se wolf him ssal bringe vp ... 2811.

woȝ B, wo L (OE wōh, n.) wrong

B : n? : þe stondeð o þen woȝe 177/5.

L : n. : Ake al þe wo þat he isaiȝ er: aȝein þat nouȝt it  
nas 211/378.

wrastling B (OE wræstlung, f.) wrestling

f. : at þere wrastlinge 79/19.

wrench L (OE wrenc, m.) artifice, trick

m? : þare-fore heo þouȝte ane feolle wrench : of wommanes  
kuynde lore 324/57.

wreððe B (OE wræþþo, f.) wrath, anger

f. : Mid þære wreððe he wes isweued 130/16; mid muchelere  
wreððe 61/19.

writ B, L (OE writ, n.) letter, writing

B : n. : hit 21/16; þ wriht 20/1; he letten writen a writ  
133/20; Cesar iseh þis writ 315/5.

L : n. : it 269/301.

wulf B, wolf L (OE wulf, m.) wolf

B : m. : swa þe rimie wulf/ þane he wile on socheapen 66/6;  
hu heo mouwen Baldulf/ slæn al se enne wulf 11.427/7.

L : m. : A wolf cam also þuder-ward: is mete for-to fette,  
And wolde of þat bodi nime: þe Rauon a-ȝein him sette,  
189/145-46; þat þe wolf atþen ende/ ... aȝen hamward  
he gan wende 189/148.

wunde B, wounde L, C (OE wund, f.) wound

B : f. : & ne 3efue him nane wunde 367/2.

L : f. : 3uyt is þe wounde in þe þrote i-sene : ane euere  
heo wole so 17/544; And handlede as and þerinne  
 pulte I is finguer opur is þombe 376/8.

C : f? : & 3af him ane wounde 373.

wunder B (OE wundor, n.) wonder

n. : & ich wulle suggen þe an wunder 198/21.

n. : he dude þer muchelne wundre 320/4.

wurðscipe, wurhscipe B (OE weorþscipe, m.) worship, honour

m. : her to biwinne/ wurðscipe minne 403/5; i þenched  
þene wurðscipe 111.396/8.

f. : þe þa muchele wurðscipe uðen him 345/21; for þere  
muchele wurðe-scipe 357/22; mid muchelere wurhscipe  
 210/19; in wurðscipe þire 11.520/1; & þine wurhscipe  
 halden 11.133/7.

yle L (OF isle, f.) isle

f? : þo huy yseigen fer fram aheom : ane yle ase þei it  
 were 226/249.

ymage L, C (OF image, f.) picture

L : f. : An ymage, briȝt and schene/ Ouer-guld and quoynte  
 i-nov/ and sette as a-midde þe cite 96/159; þat  
 ech man hire honouri schal 96/160.

m? : to þane ymage he wende a-non : ase he bi þe walle  
 stod 253/452.

ymage (cont.)

C :f/m?: Him þoʒte þe ymage in is slep.tolde him is chance.

Brut he sede passe vorþ.al biʒonde france 329.

Yrlonde C (OE Īr(a)land, n.) Ireland

m. : Yrlonde is alre yle best . wipoute engelerde.

þe se geþ al abote him ek 998; More he is þan

engelond . & in þe souþhalf he is 999.

ys L (OE īs, n.) ice

n. : hit 424/132.



## Appendix I

A survey of forms recorded in Lazamon's Brut<sup>1</sup>

|                           | <u>masculine</u>  | <u>feminine</u>                                      | <u>neuter</u>                         |
|---------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| <u>Personal pronoun</u>   |   |  |                                       |
| Nominative                | he, heo, e, he, (þe)  | heo, he, ho  | hit                                   |
| Accusative                | hine, hiñ, hin, hie,<br>bene, hune, inne, ine,<br>him                       | heo, hoe, ha,<br>hiro, (þe)                          | hit                                   |
| Genitive                  | his, hiis, is, hes, hus   | hire, hira, ire,<br>hiire, heore, hir,<br>her, hires | v. maso.                              |
| Dative                    | him, hi, ha, hin, im,<br>hine   | hire, heore, here, hir'                              | v. maso.                              |
| <u>Definite article</u>   |   |  |                                       |
| Nominative                | þe, þa, þæ, (þon), [þat]  | þa, þe, þæ, þeo, [þat]                               | þat, þ, þet, þ <sup>t</sup><br>þe, þa |
| Accusative                | þene, þane, þeone,<br>þæne, þ'ne, þonne,<br>þenne, þenne, þen,<br>þe, [þat] | þa, þe, þæ, þea, þeo<br>[þat]                        | þat, þ, þet,<br>þeð; þa, þe           |
| Genitive                  | þes, þeos, þis, þæs,<br>þas   | þere, þare, þære,<br>þera                            | þes, þeos,<br>þis, þus                |
| Dative                    | þan, þon, þen, þæn,<br>þeon, þā, þō,<br>þone, þene                          | þere, þare, þære,<br>þer; þe, þa                     | þan, þon,<br>þen, þē                  |
| <u>Indefinite article</u> |   |  |                                       |
| Nominative                | a, an   | a, an  | a, an                                 |
| Accusative                | enne, æne, anne,<br>ēne, āne, ane, an                                       | ane, ene, ana,<br>enne, anne, an                     | a, an                                 |
| Genitive                  | anes, onnes, ænnes,<br>ēnes, an   | are, hare, (ane)                                     | v. maso.                              |
| Dative                    | ane, āne  | are  | v. maso.                              |

A survey of forms in the Brut (cont.)

|                              | <u>masculine</u>                 | <u>feminine</u>             | <u>neuter</u>                 |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>Demonstrative pronoun</u> |                                  |                             |                               |
| Nominative                   | þes, þas, þis, þeos,<br>þes      | þeos, þas, þes, þis         | þis, þeos,<br>þes, þas        |
| Accusative                   | þesne, þiene, þusne,<br>þesne    | þas, þeos, þes              | þis, þas, þes,<br>þeos, þisse |
| Genitive                     | þissos, þisse                    | þissere, þessere,<br>þisse  | v. masc.                      |
| Dative                       | þisse, þissi,<br>þissen, þissene | þissore, þisse(n)           | v. masc.                      |
| <u>Possessive pronoun</u>    |                                  |                             |                               |
| Nominative                   | mi, min                          | mi, min                     | mi, min                       |
| Accusative                   | mine, minne, mine,<br>min        | mine, mie, min,<br>mi, mine | mi, min, þine                 |
| Genitive                     | mines, mi                        | mire                        | v. masc.                      |
| Dative                       | mine                             | mire                        | v. masc.                      |

- 
1. The forms given in this survey are those of the singular occurring in non-prepositional use. They are given in order of frequency; the rare or doubtful forms are bracketed.



A survey of forms recorded in the Legendary

|                              | <u>masculine</u>                     | <u>feminine</u>       | <u>neuter</u>     |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Personal pronoun</u>      |                                      |                       |                   |
| Nominative                   | he, heo, hee; huy; 3e                | heo, he               | (h)it             |
| Accusative                   | him, hine, hyne, hom                 | hire, hure; as        | (h)it             |
| Genitive                     | (h)is                                | hire, hore, hure, ire | (his)             |
| Dative                       | him                                  | v. gsgf.              | (him)             |
| <u>Definite article</u>      |                                      |                       |                   |
| Nominative                   | pe, po, peo, [pat]                   | v. masc.              | pat, pet, put, pe |
| Accusative                   | pane, pene, pen,<br>panne; pe; [pat] | pe, peo               | v. nsqn.          |
| Genitive                     | pe                                   | pe                    | pe                |
| Dative                       | pe; pen; pane                        | pe                    | pe; pen           |
| <u>Indefinite article</u>    |                                      |                       |                   |
| Nominative                   | a, an                                | a, an                 | a, an             |
| Accusative                   | ane, a; anne                         | a, an, ane            | a, an             |
| Genitive                     | ane                                  | -                     | -                 |
| Dative                       | a, an, ane                           | a, an, ane            | a, an             |
| <u>Demonstrative pronoun</u> |                                      |                       |                   |
| N. A. G. D.                  | pis                                  | pis                   | pis               |
| Accusative                   | pesne, pisne, pusne,<br>peosne       |                       |                   |
| Dative                       | pusse                                | pusse                 | pusse             |
| <u>Possessive pronoun</u>    |                                      |                       |                   |
| N. A. G. D.                  | mi, min                              | mi, min               | mi, min           |
| Accusative                   | mine, minne                          | mine                  |                   |
| Genitive/Dative              | mine                                 | mine                  | mine              |

A survey of forms recorded in the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester

|                              | <u>masculine</u>        | <u>feminine</u>           | <u>neuter</u>     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Personal pronoun</u>      |                         |                           |                   |
| Nominative                   | he, a, (here)           | heo, he; 30, 3e; sso, sse | (h)it             |
| Accusative                   | him, im, hin, in        | (h)ir(e); is              | (h)it             |
| Genitive                     | (h)is                   | (h)ir(e), here            | (is)              |
| Dative                       | (h)im, hum, hin         | (h)ir(e), her             | (him)             |
| <u>Definite article</u>      |                         |                           |                   |
| Nominative                   | pe, [pat]               | pe, [pat]                 | pat, pet, put; pe |
| Accusative                   | pe; pen, pun, pan; bene | pe, [pat]                 | pat, put, pet; pe |
| Genitive                     | pe                      | pe                        | pe                |
| Dative                       | pe, (pen)               | pe, (pen)                 | pe, (pen)         |
| <u>Indefinite article</u>    |                         |                           |                   |
| N. A. G. D.                  | a, an                   | a, an                     | a, an             |
| Accusative                   | (anne)                  | (ane)                     |                   |
| <u>Demonstrative pronoun</u> |                         |                           |                   |
| N. A. G. D.                  | pis, pes                | pis, pes                  | pis               |
| Dative                       |                         | piſe, piſſe               | piſe, piſſe       |
| <u>Possessive pronoun</u>    |                         |                           |                   |
| N. A. G. D.                  | mi, min                 | mi, min                   | mi, min           |
| Accusative                   | (minne)                 | (mine)                    |                   |

## Appendix II



Masculine nouns in the Brut

| Noun              | OE | -ne <sup>1</sup> | he | hine | noun        | OE   | -ne | he | hine |
|-------------------|----|------------------|----|------|-------------|------|-----|----|------|
| æle               | m. | +                |    |      | koker       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| earn              | m. |                  | +  |      | læchecraft  |      | +   |    |      |
| æð                | m. | +                |    |      | mærgen      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| bear              | m. |                  |    | +    | mæst        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| bowe              | m. | +                |    |      | marmestan   |      | +   |    | +    |
| brand             | m. | +                |    | +    | martyrdom   |      | +   |    |      |
| burst             | m. | +                |    |      | mæðnes      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| castel            | m. | +                | +  | +    | mete        | m.   | +   |    | +    |
| cnif              | m. | +                |    |      | moneð       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| craft             | m. | +                |    |      | nome        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| cristindom        |    | +                |    |      | peni        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| cure              | m. | +                |    |      | pleiȝe      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| curtel            | m. | +                |    |      | ross        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dæi               | m. | +                |    |      | read        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dæl               | m. | +                |    |      | rein        | m.   |     |    | +    |
| deað              | m. | +                |    |      | richedom    | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dic               | m. | +                |    |      | ring        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dom               | m. | +                |    |      | rof         | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dræm              | m. | +                |    |      | rop         | m.   | +   |    | +    |
| drake             | m. | +                |    | +    | sceld       | m.   | +   | +  |      |
| drinc             | m. | +                |    |      | scute       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| drope             | m. | +                |    |      | stæf        | m.   | +   |    |      |
| dune <sup>2</sup> | m. | +                |    |      | stan        | m.   | +   | +  |      |
| dunt              | m. | +                |    |      | stede       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| end               | m. | +                |    |      | sterre      | m.   | +   | +  |      |
| feld              | m. | +                |    |      | stream      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| feond             | m. | +                |    |      | streng      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| first             | m. | +                |    |      | stude       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| fisc              | m. |                  | +  |      | sweore      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| gare              | m. | +                |    |      | swikedom    | m.   | +   |    |      |
| gost              | m. | +                |    |      | swipe       | m.   | +   |    |      |
| grome             | m. | +                |    |      | tun         | m.   | +   |    |      |
| grund             | m. | +                |    |      | tur         | m.   | +   |    |      |
| gult              | m. | +                |    |      | wæi         | m.   | +   |    |      |
| hænest            | m. | +                |    |      | wal         | m.   | +   |    |      |
| hærm              | m. | +                |    |      | wifmon      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| helm              | m. | +                |    |      | wind        | m.   | +   | +  |      |
| hem               | m. |                  | +  |      | winter      | m.   | +   |    |      |
| heort             | m. | +                |    |      | wode        | m.   | +   | +  | +    |
| here <sup>1</sup> | m. | +                |    |      | wulf        | m.   | +   | +  |      |
| horn              | m. | +                |    | +    | wurðeschipe |      | +   |    |      |
| huie              | m. | +                |    |      |             |      |     |    |      |
| kinedom           | m. | +                |    |      | help        | f.m. | +   |    |      |
| kinehelm          | m. | +                | +  | +    | hul         | m.f. | +   | +  | +    |

1. -ne being the characteristic asgm. ending of the definite article (pene), indefinite article (enne), demonstrative pronoun (þiane), possessive pronoun (minne) as well as of the strong adjective.

Masculine nouns in the Brut

| noun    | OE   | -ne | he | hine | noun   | OE | -ne | he | hine |
|---------|------|-----|----|------|--------|----|-----|----|------|
| bur     | m.n. | +   |    |      | scome  | f. | +   |    |      |
| flod    | m.n. |     | +  |      | siht   | f. | +   |    |      |
| holt    | n.m. | +   |    |      |        |    |     |    |      |
| blase   | f.   | +   |    |      | balu   | n. | +   |    |      |
| burh    | f.   | +   |    | +    | child  | n. |     | +  |      |
| care    | f.   | +   |    |      | grið   | n. | +   |    |      |
| chin    | f.   | +   |    |      | 3er    | n. | +   |    |      |
| modcare | f.   | +   |    |      | spere  | n. |     |    | +    |
| niht    | f.   | +   |    |      | wunder | n. | +   |    |      |

Feminine nouns in the Brut

| noun              | OE | -re <sup>1</sup> | heo | hire | noun         | OE | -re | heo | hire |
|-------------------|----|------------------|-----|------|--------------|----|-----|-----|------|
| æ                 | f. | +                | +   |      | hæle         | f. | +   |     |      |
| æhte              | f. |                  | +   |      | hælf         | f. | +   |     |      |
| ælde              | f. | +                |     |      | hæuene       | f. | +   |     |      |
| blisse            | f. | +                |     |      | halle        | f. | +   |     |      |
| boc               | f. | +                | +   |      | heorde       | f. |     | +   |      |
| Bruttene          | f. | +                |     |      | heorte       | f. | +   |     |      |
| burh              | f. | +                | +   | +    | heouene      | f. | +   |     |      |
| burne             | f. | +                |     |      | hilte        | f. | +   |     |      |
| care              | f. | +                |     |      | hind         | f. | +   |     |      |
| chireche          | f. | +                |     |      | hond         | f. | +   |     |      |
| dede              | f. | +                |     |      | hude         | f. | +   | +   |      |
| dich              | f. | +                | +   |      | humbre       | f. | +   |     |      |
| dune <sup>1</sup> | f. | +                |     |      | lar          | f. | +   |     |      |
| dure              | f. | +                | +   |      | laze         | f. | +   | +   | +    |
| du3ede            | f. | +                |     |      | leode        | f. | +   |     |      |
| eax               | f. | +                |     |      | lesinge      | f. | +   |     |      |
| eorðe             | f. | +                |     |      | lufe         | f. | +   |     |      |
| ferde             | f. | +                | +   |      | midniht      | f. | +   |     |      |
| fore              | f. | +                |     |      | miht         | f. | +   |     |      |
| godnesse          | f. | +                |     |      | mile         | f. | +   |     |      |
| gretung           | f. | +                |     |      | murehðe      | f. | +   | +   |      |
| 3eue              | f. | +                |     |      | neode        | f. | +   |     |      |
| 3itsunge          | f. | +                |     |      | niht         | f. | +   |     |      |
| 3iuernesse        |    | +                |     |      | Port-chestre |    |     | +   |      |

1. -re being the characteristic g/dsgf. ending of the definite article (þere), indefinite article (are), demonstrative pronoun (þissere), possessive pronoun (miere) as well as of the strong adjective.

Feminine nouns in the Brut

| noun               | OE | -re | heo hire | noun        | OE     | -re | heo hire |
|--------------------|----|-----|----------|-------------|--------|-----|----------|
| prute              | f. | +   |          | see         | m.f.   | +   |          |
| reuning            | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| rode               | f. |     | +        |             |        |     |          |
| Rome               | f. |     | +        |             |        |     |          |
| sætneſse           | f. |     | +        | breoste     | n.m.f. | +   |          |
| saule              | f. | +   | +        |             |        |     |          |
| ſcæðe              | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| ſcale              | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| ſeahte             | f. | +   |          | erde        | m.     | +   |          |
| ſeoreȝe            | f. | +   |          | biȝte       | m.     | +   |          |
| ſibba              | f. | +   |          | bringe      | m.     | +   |          |
| ſibelaze           | f. | +   |          | freondſcipe |        | +   |          |
| ſide               | f. | +   |          | monſchipe   |        | +   |          |
| ſihtē              | f. | +   |          | ſweore      | m.     | +   |          |
| ſonde              | f. | +   |          | wifmon      | m.     | +   | +        |
| ſpeche             | f. | +   |          | wurðſcipe   |        | +   |          |
| ſtefne             | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| ſtowe              | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| ſtrengð            | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| ſtret              | f. |     | +        | bihoue      | n.     | +   |          |
| ſtunde             | f. | +   |          | geſe        | n.     | +   |          |
| ſunne <sup>1</sup> | f. | +   |          | huſting     | n.     | +   |          |
| ſunne <sup>2</sup> | f. | +   |          | inne        | n.     | +   |          |
| tales <sup>1</sup> | f. | +   |          | kineriche   |        | +   |          |
| Temese             | f. | +   |          | mæiden      | n.     |     | +        |
| teone              | f. | +   |          | riche       | n.     | +   | +        |
| tide               | f. | +   |          | rihte       | n.     |     | +        |
| þeode              | f. | +   |          | temple      | n.     | +   |          |
| unneode            | f. | +   |          | weolcne     | n.     | +   |          |
| wel-dede           | f. | +   |          | wif         | n.     |     | +        |
| welle              | f. | +   | +        | witte       | n.     | +   |          |
| weorlð             | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| wile               | f. | +   |          |             |        |     |          |
| wiſe               | f. | +   |          | þruppe      | ?      | +   |          |
| wraſtling          |    | +   |          | ſereuunge   |        | +   |          |
| wreððe             | f. | +   |          | Tyre        | f?     | +   |          |



Neuter nouns in the Brut

| noun      | OE | bat | bis <sup>1</sup> | hit | noun             | OE   | bat | bis | hit |
|-----------|----|-----|------------------|-----|------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| mitlond   | n. | +   |                  | +   | vuel             | n.   | +   |     |     |
| balu      | n. | +   |                  |     | wol, wear        | n.   | +   |     | +   |
| bearn     | n. | +   |                  |     | warc             | n.   | +   |     |     |
| bord      | n. | +   |                  |     | wapmoncun        |      | +   |     |     |
| Brutlond  | n. |     |                  | +   | water            | n.   | +   |     | +   |
| burhfolc  | n. | +   |                  |     | weder            | n.   | +   |     |     |
| child     | n. | +   |                  | +   | weofed           | n.   | +   |     |     |
| clif      | n. | +   |                  |     | wif              | n.   | +   |     |     |
| corn      | n. | +   |                  | +   | word             | n.   | +   |     | +   |
| del       | n. | +   |                  | +   | writ             | n.   | +   | +   | +   |
| deor      | n. | +   |                  | +   |                  |      |     |     |     |
| feht      | n. | +   |                  |     | edel m.n.        | m.n. | +   |     | +   |
| feoh      | n. |     |                  | +   | garsun           | m.n. | +   | +   |     |
| folc      | n. | +   |                  | +   |                  |      |     |     |     |
| fur       | n. | +   |                  |     | biheste          | f/n. |     |     | +   |
| gauel     | n. | +   |                  |     |                  |      |     |     |     |
| gleo      | n. | +   |                  |     | erde             | m.   |     | +   |     |
| god       | n. | +   |                  | +   | ed               | m.   |     |     | +   |
| goddspel  | n. | +   |                  |     | brimme           | m.   |     |     | +   |
| gold      | n. | +   |                  |     | clarscipe        |      | +   |     |     |
| gres      | n. | +   |                  |     | comp             | m.   | +   |     |     |
| grið      | n. | +   |                  | +   | cristindom       |      |     |     | +   |
| æt        | n. |     |                  | +   | feond            | m.   |     |     | +   |
| 3er       | n. | +   |                  |     | gare             | m.   |     |     | +   |
| heafð     | n. | +   |                  |     | hired            | m.   | +   |     |     |
| hæmedben  | n. | +   |                  |     | mote             | m.   |     |     | +   |
| husting   | n. | +   |                  |     | seilclea         | m.   | +   |     |     |
| itel      | n. | +   |                  |     | stude            | m.   |     |     | +   |
| kinelond  | n. | +   | +                | +   | tur              | m.   | +   |     |     |
| kineriche |    | +   |                  |     | wel <sup>2</sup> | m.   | +   |     |     |
| larspel   | n. | +   |                  | +   | vifmon           | m.   | +   |     |     |
| liche     | n. | +   |                  | +   | winter           | m.   | +   |     |     |
| lif       | n. | +   |                  | +   |                  |      |     |     |     |
| lond      | n. | +   | +                | +   | ehste            | f.   |     |     | +   |
| maiden    | n. | +   | +                |     | answare          | f.   |     | +   |     |
| mod       | n. | +   |                  |     | anlicnes         | f.   | +   |     | +   |
| monkun    | n. | +   |                  |     | axe              | f.   |     |     | +   |
| riche     | n. | +   |                  |     | Bruttene         | f.   |     |     | +   |
| rihte     | n. | +   |                  | +   | ferde            | f.   | +   |     |     |
| scip      | n. | +   |                  | +   | forward          | f.   | +   | +   |     |
| sond      | n. | +   |                  |     | hauen            | f.   | +   |     |     |
| soð       | n. | +   |                  | +   | leod             | f.   | +   |     | +   |
| spero     | n. |     |                  | +   | niht             | f.   | +   |     |     |
| strond    | n. | +   |                  |     | Rome             | f.   |     |     | +   |
| sweord    | n. | +   |                  | +   | sibba            | f.   |     |     | +   |
| swin      | n. | +   |                  |     | speche           | f.   |     |     | +   |
| swinc     | n. | +   |                  |     | Troye            | f.   |     |     | +   |
| taken     | n. | +   |                  |     | worlde           | f.   | +   |     |     |
| temple    | n. |     |                  | +   |                  |      |     |     |     |
| tree      | n. | +   |                  |     | nord             | adv. | +   |     |     |
| bing      | n. | +   |                  |     | west             | adv. | +   |     |     |

Masculine or neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the dsgm/n.)

| noun     | OE     | noun        | OE |
|----------|--------|-------------|----|
| earde    | m.     | cun         | n. |
| gurdæl   | m.     | eorðhus     | n. |
| likame   | m.     | inn         | n. |
| pliht    | m.     | iwille      | n. |
| rug      | m.     | lim         | m. |
| slæht    | m.     | mele        | m. |
| summer   | m.     | qualehus    | n. |
| time     | m.     | quartern    | n. |
| top      | m.     | slæde       | n. |
| welle    | m.     | weored      | n. |
| wille    | m.     | wodelond    | n. |
| woderime | m.     | wōȝ         | n. |
| breſte   | n.m.f. | æh-sene     | f. |
| lufte    | f.m.n. | caſtel-buri |    |
|          |        | herberwe    | f. |
| baſche   | n?     | lofe        | f. |
| wilderne | ?      | mid-niht    | f. |

Masculine or neuter in the Brut (evidence of the gsgm/n.)

| noun | OE |
|------|----|
| feng | m. |

Neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. an, mī)

| noun    | OE | an | mī |
|---------|----|----|----|
| hundrad | n. | +  |    |
| ſar     | m. |    | +  |
| wunder  | n. | +  |    |

Feminine nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. þa, ane, mine)

| noun    | OE | þa | ane | mine | noun            | OE     | þa | ane | mine |
|---------|----|----|-----|------|-----------------|--------|----|-----|------|
| brugge  | f. |    | +   |      | æðelen          | f.n.   | +  |     |      |
| fla     | f. | +  | +   |      | fulluht         | n.f.m. | +  |     |      |
| harpe   | f. | +  | +   |      |                 |        |    |     |      |
| heſte   | f. |    | +   |      |                 |        |    |     |      |
| laðung  | f. |    | +   |      | del             | m.     | +  | +   |      |
| milc    | f. | +  |     |      | sið             | m.     |    | +   |      |
| milce   | f. |    |     | +    |                 |        |    |     |      |
| Troye   | f. |    | +   |      |                 |        |    |     |      |
| tunne   | f. |    | +   |      | erinde          | n.     | +  |     |      |
| pechele | f. |    | +   |      | maine           | n.     |    |     | +    |
| þrowe   | f. |    | +   |      | ræf             | n.     | +  |     |      |
| wi-ræx  | f. |    | +   |      | lond-gauel      |        | +  |     |      |
| wunde   | f. | +  | +   |      | (cf. p. 20 ff.) |        |    |     |      |

Masculine nouns in the Legendary

| noun      | OE | -ne <sup>1</sup> | he               | him <sup>2</sup> | noun        | OE   | -ne | he             | him            |
|-----------|----|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|------|-----|----------------|----------------|
| appel     | m. | +                |                  |                  | saturday    | m.   | +   |                |                |
| asse      | m. |                  | heo <sup>3</sup> |                  | sonenday    | m.   | +   |                |                |
| beiz      | m. | +                |                  |                  | staf        | m.   | +   | +              | +              |
| boruz     | m. | +                |                  |                  | ston        | m.   | +   |                | +              |
| bovz      | m. |                  | +                |                  | stream      | m.   | +   |                |                |
| breth     | m. | +                |                  |                  | toun        | m.   | +   |                |                |
| cuyrtel   | m. | +                |                  | +                | tywesday    | m.   | +   |                |                |
| day       | m. | +                | +                | +                | poresday    | m.   | +   |                |                |
| dethp     | m. | +                |                  | +                | poumbe      | m.   |     | +              |                |
| drake     | m. |                  | +                | +                | pundre      | m.   |     | +              |                |
| dunt      | m. | +                |                  |                  | wei         | m.   | +   |                |                |
| ende      | m. | +                |                  |                  | wayn        | m.   | +   |                |                |
| ern       | m. |                  | +                | +                | wind        | m.   |     | +              |                |
| feuere    | m. |                  | heo              |                  | wode        | m.   |     | heo            |                |
| finguer   | m. | +                | +                |                  | worm        | m.   |     |                | +              |
| fisch     | m. |                  | +                | +                | wulf        | m.   |     | +              |                |
| fot       | m. | +                |                  |                  |             |      |     |                |                |
| foul      | m. |                  | +                |                  | dew         | m.n. |     | +              |                |
| friday    | m. | +                | +                |                  |             |      |     |                |                |
| gost      | m. | +                |                  |                  | help        | f.m. | +   |                |                |
| grund     | m. | +                |                  |                  | hul         | m.f. |     | +              |                |
| hare      | m. |                  | heo <sup>3</sup> |                  |             |      |     |                |                |
| heort     | m. |                  | +                | +                |             |      |     |                |                |
| leon      | m. |                  | +                |                  |             |      |     |                |                |
| morewe    | m. | +                |                  |                  | boc         | f.   |     |                | +              |
| mete      | m. | +                |                  |                  | heouene     | f.   |     | heo            | +              |
| mist      | m. | +                |                  |                  | pors        | f.   |     |                | +              |
| mouth     | m. | +                |                  |                  | sonne       | f.   |     |                | + <sup>4</sup> |
| mulleston |    |                  | +                |                  | Sonennyght  |      | +   |                |                |
| othp      | m. | +                |                  |                  | soule       | f.   |     | + <sup>5</sup> |                |
| otur      | m. |                  | +                |                  | Wodnesnyght |      | +   |                |                |
| ouene     | m. |                  | heo              |                  | world       | f.   | +   |                |                |
| peni      | m. | +                |                  |                  |             |      |     |                |                |
| put       | m. | +                |                  |                  | zer         | n.   | +   |                |                |
| rauen     | m. |                  | +                |                  | child       | f.   |     | +              | +              |
| rede      | m. | +                |                  |                  | water       | n.   |     |                | +              |
| rymsorst  | m. |                  | +                | +                |             |      |     |                |                |
| ryng      | m. | +                |                  | +                |             |      |     |                |                |

1. i.e. bene, anne, nanne, minne, binne or pisne.
2. him is the most frequent asgm. form; hine occurs only occasionally.
3. heo is only a variant of he in these instances; cf. the gsg. is.
4. him is a dative here.
5. The evidence of he is corroborated by the gsg. is.



Feminine nouns in the Legendary

| noun              | OE | heo | hire | as | noun    | OE   | heo | hire | as |
|-------------------|----|-----|------|----|---------|------|-----|------|----|
| arewe             | f. | +   | +    |    | soule   | f.   | +   | +    |    |
| boc               | f. |     |      | +  | souwe   | f.   | +   |      |    |
| brugge            | f. | +   |      |    | sunne   | f.   |     |      | +  |
| churche           | f. | +   | +    | +  | tale    | f.   | +   |      |    |
| coluere           | f. | +   | +    |    | tounge  | f.   | +   |      |    |
| coppe             | f. | +   | +    |    | welle   | f.   | +   |      |    |
| cov               | f. | +   | +    |    | wounde  | f.   | +   |      | +  |
| eorpe             | f. | +   |      |    |         |      |     |      |    |
| flie              | f. | +   |      |    |         |      |     |      |    |
| georde            | f. | +   | +    |    | candele | f.n. | +   | +    |    |
| zwuchche          | f. |     | +    |    | sea     | f.m. | +   | +    |    |
| harpe             | f. | +   | +    |    |         |      |     |      |    |
| heouene           | f. |     | +    |    |         |      |     |      |    |
| here <sup>2</sup> | f. | +   |      |    | bov3    | m.   | +   | +    |    |
| hond              | f. | +   |      | +  | mone    | m.   | +   | +    |    |
| lauerke           | f. |     | +    |    | stede   | m.   |     | +    |    |
| lawe              | f. |     |      | +  | steorre | m.   | +   | +    |    |
| liuere            | f. | +   |      |    | wimmon  | m.   | +   | +    |    |
| masse             | f. | +   | +    |    |         |      |     |      |    |
| rode              | f. | +   | +    | +  |         |      |     |      |    |
| schurte           | f. |     | +    |    | mayde   | m.   | +   |      |    |
| side              | f. | +   | +    |    | temple  | n.   | +   | +    |    |
| sonne             | f. | +   | +    |    | wif     | n.   |     | +    |    |

Masculine or feminine nouns in the Legendary (evidence of the asg.)

| noun    | OE | ane | mine | noun      | OE | ane | mine |
|---------|----|-----|------|-----------|----|-----|------|
| brand   | m. | +   |      | blisse    | f. |     | +    |
| dischs  | m. | +   |      | zwile     | f. | +   | +    |
| feld    | m. | +   |      | heste     | f. | +   |      |
| lof     | m. | +   |      | marke     | f. | +   |      |
| rop     | m. | +   |      | masse-boc |    | +   |      |
| stude   | m. | +   |      | mighte    | f. |     | +    |
| time    | m. | +   |      | mile      | f. | +   |      |
| þorn    | m. | +   |      | nihte     | f. | +   |      |
| wal     | m. | +   |      | stounde   | f. | +   |      |
| wone    | m. | +   |      | tide      | f. | +   |      |
| wrench  | m. | +   |      | tiðingue  | f. | +   |      |
|         |    |     |      | tonne     | f. | +   |      |
| 3er     | n. | +   |      |           |    |     |      |
| hole    | n. | +   |      |           |    |     |      |
| hundret | n. | +   |      |           |    |     |      |
| schrine | n. | +   |      |           |    |     |      |
| spere   | n. | +   |      | sclabbe   | ?  | +   |      |

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Nouns referred to bM (h)it in the Legendary

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| noun     | OE | noun       | OE |
|----------|----|------------|----|
| blod     | n. | beiz       | m. |
| bodi     | n. | bou3       | m. |
| bold     | n. | bouwe      | m. |
| bord     | n. | breth      | m. |
| brød     | n. | cloth      | m. |
| child    | n. | cristendom |    |
| corn     | n. | deth       | m. |
| del      | n. | discha     | m. |
| Engelond | n. | drinc      | m. |
| erinde   | n. | feld       | m. |
| fat      | n. | fisch      | m. |
| flesch   | n. | gost       | m. |
| folk     | n. | hurst      | m. |
| fuyr     | n. | mete       | m. |
| godspel  | n. | mist       | m. |
| gold     | n. | put        | m. |
| goud     | n. | rug        | m. |
| 3at      | n. | rymforst   | m. |
| 3weol    | n. | smul       | m? |
| halibred | n. | sak        | m. |
| here     | n. | song       | m. |
| heued    | n. | staf       | m. |
| hous     | n. | stan       | m. |
| inn      | n. | pought     | m. |
| lead     | n. | pundre     | m. |
| leaf     | n. | wei        | m. |
| lijf     | n. | willo      | m. |
| light    | n. | wind       | m. |
| lomb     | n. | worm       | m  |
| lond     | n. |            |    |
| lot      | n. | anletnesse |    |
| riche    | n. | blessingue |    |
| rihte    | n. | coppe      | f. |
| salt     | n. | eorpe      | f. |
| schep    | n. | 3eorde     | f. |
| schip    | n. | heouene    | f. |
| suerd    | n. | lesingue   | f. |
| tree     | n. | lightingue |    |
| ping     | n. | love       | f. |
| water    | n. | mansingue  |    |
| weder    | n. | rest       | f. |
| werk     | n. | siht       | f. |
| woh      | n. | sonne      | f. |
| word     | n. | childingue | f? |
| writ     | n. | leitunge   | f? |
| ys       | n. |            |    |

Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

| noun    | OE | ben <sup>1</sup> | he | him <sup>2</sup> | noun     | OE   | ben | he | him                   |
|---------|----|------------------|----|------------------|----------|------|-----|----|-----------------------|
| appel   | m. | +                | +  |                  | wal      | m.   | +   | +  |                       |
| arm     | m. | +                |    |                  | wei      | m.   | +   |    |                       |
| baru    | m. |                  |    | +                | winter   | m.   | -ne |    |                       |
| bor     | m. |                  | +  | +                | worm     | m.   |     |    | +                     |
| castel  | m. | +                | +  | +                |          |      |     |    |                       |
| day     | m. | +                |    |                  |          |      |     |    |                       |
| dep     | m. | +                |    | +                | box      | m.n. | +   |    |                       |
| dom     | m. | +                |    |                  |          |      |     |    |                       |
| feld    | m. | +                |    |                  | church   | f.   |     | +  | +                     |
| fot     | m. | +                |    |                  | hond     | f.   | +   |    |                       |
| gost    | m. |                  | +  |                  | rode     | f.   |     | +  | (cf. <u>gsg. is</u> ) |
| kinedom | m. |                  | +  |                  | world    | f.   | +   |    |                       |
| knif    | m. |                  | +  |                  |          |      |     |    |                       |
| london  | m. |                  | +  |                  |          |      |     |    |                       |
| op      | m. | +                | +  |                  |          |      |     |    |                       |
| red     | m. | +                |    |                  | child    | n.   |     | +  |                       |
| ring    | m. | +                |    |                  | Engelond | n.   |     | +  | + <sup>3</sup>        |
| sterre  | m. |                  |    | +                | godspel  | n.   | +   |    |                       |
| stroc   | m. | +                |    |                  | suerd    | n.   |     |    | + <sup>3</sup>        |
| stude   | m. | +                |    | +                | Yrlond   | n.   |     | +  | + <sup>3</sup>        |
| toun    | m. | +                | +  | +                |          |      |     |    |                       |

Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

| noun              | OE | he(o) | hire | is <sup>5</sup> | noun     | OE | he(o) | hire | is |
|-------------------|----|-------|------|-----------------|----------|----|-------|------|----|
| brugge            | f. | he    |      |                 | hond     | f. |       |      | +  |
| church            | f. | he    | +    | +               | voreward | f. |       |      | +  |
| dede              | f. |       |      | +               |          |    |       |      |    |
| halle             | f. | he    |      |                 | steorre  | m. |       | +    |    |
| hauene            | f. | he    |      |                 | womman   | m. | +     |      |    |
| hele <sup>4</sup> | f. |       |      |                 |          |    |       |      |    |
| hen               | f. |       |      | +               | mayde    | n. | +     |      |    |

Nouns referred to by hit in the Chronicle

| noun  | OE | noun       | OE | noun      | OE |
|-------|----|------------|----|-----------|----|
| child | n. | castel     | m. | ex        | f. |
| folk  | n. | cristendon |    | churche   | f. |
| 3at   | n. | drench     | m. | mansingue |    |
| heued | n. | ofsprenge  |    | hepenesse |    |
| hous  | n. | sceld      | m. | vorwarde  |    |
| li3t  | n. | stude      | m. |           |    |
| lond  | n. | toun       | m. |           |    |
| water | n. | wind       | m. |           |    |

1. asgm.

2. asgm.

3. him is in the dative here.4. goderhele, wro3erhele.

5. asgf.



NOUNS OF OLD FRENCH ORIGIN

Masculine nouns in the Brut

| noun     | OF | -ne | he | hine | noun  | OF | dsg. pan/ane |
|----------|----|-----|----|------|-------|----|--------------|
| kalendar | m. | +   |    |      | flum  | m. | +            |
| mahum    | m. | +   | +  | +    | ginne | m. | +            |
| mantel   | m. | +   |    |      | lac   | m. | +            |

Feminine nouns in the Brut

| noun  | OF | -re | heo | hire | noun  | OF | asg. ane |
|-------|----|-----|-----|------|-------|----|----------|
| arche | f. | +   |     |      | tunne | f. | +        |
| tur   | f. | +   | +   | +    |       |    |          |

Masculine nouns in the Legendary

| noun    | OF | pane | he                        | him | noun      | OF | asg. ane |
|---------|----|------|---------------------------|-----|-----------|----|----------|
| maumet  | m. |      | +                         |     | cofre     | m. | +        |
| menbre  | m. |      | +                         |     | ensaumple |    | +        |
| poynt   | m. | +    |                           |     | ginne     | m. | +        |
| sauter  | m. | +    |                           |     | mantel    | m. | +        |
| tempest | m. |      | +                         |     | peire     | m. | +        |
|         |    |      |                           |     | sege      | m. | +        |
|         |    |      |                           |     | signe     | m. | +        |
| beste   | f. |      | + (cf. gsg. <u>is</u> )   |     |           |    |          |
| prison  | f. | +    |                           |     |           |    |          |
| robe    | f. | +    |                           |     |           |    |          |
| roche   | f. |      | +                         |     |           |    |          |
| tourn   | f. |      |                           | +   |           |    |          |
| ymage   | f. |      | + (cf. dsg. <u>pane</u> ) |     |           |    |          |

Feminine nouns in the Legendary

| noun     | OF | heo | hire | as | noun     | OF | asg. ane/pine |
|----------|----|-----|------|----|----------|----|---------------|
| abbeyze  | f. |     | +    | +  | chaliere | f. | +             |
| chartre  | f. | +   | +    | ++ | folie    | f. | +             |
| croce    | f. | +   | +    | +  | fourme   | f. | +             |
| croiz    | f. | +   | +    | +  | goute    | f. | +             |
| feste    | f. | +   |      |    | grace    | f. | +             |
| lettre   | f. | +   |      |    | partie   | f. | +             |
| penaunce | f. | +   |      |    | perche   | f. | +             |
| reule    | f. | +   |      |    | place    | f. | +             |
| toumbe   | f. |     |      | +  | rente    | f. | +             |
| ymage    | f. |     | +    | +  | summe    | f. | +             |
|          |    |     |      |    | table    | f. | +             |
| ordre    | m. | +   |      | +  | yle      | f. | +             |
| saume    | m. | +   |      |    |          |    |               |

### Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

| noun   | OF   | ben | he | him |
|--------|------|-----|----|-----|
| dragon | m.   | +   |    | +   |
| ordre  | m.   |     | +  |     |
| ost    | m.f. |     | +  |     |
| truage | m.   |     |    | +   |
| cite   | f.   |     | +  | +   |
| launce | f.   |     |    | +   |

### Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

| noun     | OF | he(o) | hire | is | noun     | OF | agg. | anc |
|----------|----|-------|------|----|----------|----|------|-----|
| chartre  | f. |       |      | +  | Bataille | f. |      | +   |
| court    | f. | he    |      |    |          |    |      |     |
| croiz    | f. | he    |      |    |          |    |      |     |
| ymage    | f. | he    |      |    |          |    |      |     |
| aumperye | m. |       |      | +  |          |    |      |     |

### Nouns referred to by hit in the Legendary

| noun     | OF | noun     | OF | noun      | OF |
|----------|----|----------|----|-----------|----|
| caudron  | m. | taillage | m. | France    | f. |
| cristal  | m. | tresor   | m. | grace     | f. |
| deol     | m. | venim    | m. | grece     | f. |
| dette    | m. |          |    | honour    | f. |
| fornais  | m. |          |    | loye      | f. |
| mantel   | m. |          |    | iupe      | f. |
| miracle  | m. | acord    | f. | noyse     | f. |
| ordre    | m. | bataille | f. | oreisun   | f. |
| oynement | m. | beste    | f. | penaunce  | f. |
| palefrey | m. | croiz    | f. | reule     | f. |
| paleis   | m. | eoyle    | f. | spence    | f. |
| pallion  | m. | fourme   | f. | tricherie |    |

### Nouns referred to by hit in the Chronicle

| noun   | OF | noun      | OF | noun   | OF |
|--------|----|-----------|----|--------|----|
| maumet | m. | caroyne   | f. | lettre | f. |
| mossel | m. | compaynie |    | pes    | f. |
| poyson | m. | croiz     | f. | place  | f. |
| scrit  | m. | feste     | f. | tumbe  | f. |
| truage | m. | grace     | f. |        |    |

NOUNS OF OLD NORSE ORIGIN

Masculine nouns

| text | noun | ON | bane | he | hine | asg. | ane |
|------|------|----|------|----|------|------|-----|
| L    | bole | m. |      |    | +    |      | +   |
| L    | leg  | m. | +    |    |      |      |     |

Feminine nouns

| text | noun   | ON | heo | hire | is | asg. | ane |
|------|--------|----|-----|------|----|------|-----|
| L    | bone   | f. |     |      |    |      | +   |
| B    | crune  | f. | +   |      |    |      |     |
| L    | croune |    |     |      |    |      | +   |
| C    | croune |    | he  |      | +  |      |     |

Neuter

| text | noun    | ON    | pat                      |
|------|---------|-------|--------------------------|
| B    | tiðende | n.pl. | + (cf. dsq. <u>þen</u> ) |



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